

COMPILED DOCUMENTS OF THE O.I.M.S.

SEPTEMBER 1976 — APRIL 1979

Volume 5

THE RISE

(English Defense Publication)

and

Leaflets in English

A PUBLICATION OF
ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN MOSLEM STUDENTS

APRIL 1979

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CONTENTS

Introduction

7

THE RISE DEFENSE PUBLICATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN MOSLEM STUDENTS

THE RISE number 1

July 1977 13

- Introduction
- Political repression in Iran
 - Why repression?*
 - June 5*
 - Instruments of repression*
 - Torture*
 - Sources of information*
 - Methods of torture*
- Iran in world affairs
 - Introduction*
 - Overview*
 - The nature of the role of Iran*
 - Shah's troops in Oman*
 - Flow of arms to Iran*
 - Conclusion*
- Expose the Shah's puppet dictatorial regime

THE RISE, Special issue

October 12, 1978 25

- Defend Lexington 11
 - Introduction*
 - Background to the case*
 - Lexington court's "trial" of the 11*
 - The court, C.I.A. and the Shah's regime*
 - The Islamic movement in Iran and the U.S. imperialism*
 - The 11: Political prisoners, not criminals*

THE RISE number 2

November 15, 1978 29

- Military rule in Iran
 - Introduction*
 - Military government*
 - Events leading to military rule*
 - U.S. endorsement of the military government*
 - Conclusion*
- Lexington 11: A clear victory for the Iranian students

THE RISE number 3

December 1, 1978 33

- Military rule fails to stabilize the Shah's shaky regime
 - Military rule and aftermath*
 - Moharram*
 - The nature of the Iranian people's movement*
 - The U.S. government support for the Shah*
 - Position of the American people*

THE RISE number 4	December 20, 1978	37
Islamic movement surges during month of Moharram		
Before Moharram		
Moharram: Flare up of struggle and bloodshed		
Foreigners leaving Iran in thousands		
Ashura: Millions take to the streets		
Jimmy Carter's dilemma and U.S. desperation		
"Pro-Shah" demonstration or SAVAK-military joint orchestra		
17-point resolution unanimously adopted in Tehran, on Ashura, December 11, 1978		
O.I.M.S. demonstration in Washington, D.C., December 10&11		
THE RISE number 5	January 20, 1979	49
Criminal Shah flees Iran in tears		
Bakhtiar government: The U.S. last desperate resort		
Civilian cabinet response to the new government		
Why Bakhtiar government at this time?		
U.S. pushes for a civilian government		
Bakhtiar: U.S.-Shah last hope for survival		
Crack in the Shah's army		
Ayatollah Khomeini's message to the Iranian people concerning the dangerous plot of the new cabinet		
THE RISE number 6	February 20, 1979	57
Shah's regime collapses		
Bakhtiar in shambles		
Ayatollah Khomeini's message to the Iranian people		
February 11, 1979		
Islamic movement in Iran: 1963-1979		
Message of the Mujahideen of the people of Iran to the Iranian people February 11, 1979		
Ayatollah Khomeini returns home		
The people's transitional government		
Islamic movement and Marxists		
THE RISE number 7	March 30, 1979	69
Middle East "peace" treaty; Sadat's sell-out to U.S.-Israel		
Ayatollah Khomeini's statement concerning the Egypt-Israel "peace" treaty		
The Palestinian movement and the Iranian people		
Anti-treaty demonstration in Washington, D.C.		
Message of the third convention of the O.I.M.S. to the P.L.O. (December 1978)		
Message of released Mujahideen to Abu-Ammar (Yasser Arafat)		

LEAFLETS

Iranian regime sentences 21 Moslem revolutionaries to death	September 16, 1976	75
Demonstration in Norman-Oklahoma to protest the impending execution of the 21		
Announcement on the occasion of Eid-UI-Fitr	September 24, 1976	77
Ramadan 1396 (Lunar Hijri)		
Condemn the plot against Iranian students	November 10, 1976	79
To protest the arrest of Iranian students in Paris-France and Houston-Texas		
Raise your voice	November 20, 1976	81
Demonstration in Houston-Texas, to protest repression in Iran		
Celebrate "No-Rooz"	March 14, 1977	83
Celebrating the Iranian new year		
Condemn the "No-Rooz" of the kings versus the "No-Rooz" of the people	March 18, 1977	85
Protest march against the new year celebration by the Shah's consulate general in Chicago		
Stop execution of 6 Iranian patriots	April 14, 1977	87
Demonstration to protest the impending execution of 6 Iranian patriots		

Palestine Day <i>A forum in solidarity with the Palestinian people</i>	May 10, 1977	89
Expose the Shah's puppet dictatorial regime <i>Announcement of two 7-day hunger strikes in Washington, D.C. and Chicago to protest the Shah's wife visit to the U.S.</i>	July 7, 1977	91
Press release <i>4th day of the hunger strike in Washington, D.C. to protest the Shah's wife visit to the U.S.</i>	July 10, 1977	93
Expose the Shah's puppet dictatorial regime <i>7th day of the hunger strike</i>	July 13, 1977	95
Announcement on the occasion of Eid-Ul-Fitr <i>Ramadan 1398 (Lunar Hijri)</i>	September 9, 1977	97
Hunger strike <i>7-day hunger strike in Houston-Texas in support of the hunger strike of the "Iranian Militant Clergymen" in Paris-France</i>	September 25, 1977	99
7th day of hunger strike <i>Announcement of the 7th day of hunger strike in Houston-Texas</i>	October 7, 1977	101
Expose Shah's U.S. visit <i>Shah to visit the U.S., O.I.M.S. calls for demonstration in Washington, D.C. on November 15 & 16, 1977</i>	October 30, 1977	103
Press conference <i>To expose the Shah's regime</i>	November 12, 1977	105
Massacre in Iran <i>Central demonstration in Houston, Chicago and Montreal-Canada to protest the massacre of Moslems in the city of Qum on January 9, 1978</i>	January 23, 1978	107
Condemn Sadat's traitorous regime <i>Joint demonstration in Washington, D.C. with the "Islamic Party" to protest Sadat's visit to the U.S.</i>	February 2, 1978	109
Massacre continues in Iran <i>7-day hunger strike in Washington, D.C. to protest the massacre in Tabriz on February 18 & 19, 1978</i>	February 23, 1978	111
7-day hunger strike <i>Announcement of the hunger strike in Washington, D.C.</i>	February 24, 1978	113
News release <i>2nd day of the hunger strike</i>	February 25, 1978	115
Public service announcement <i>6th day of the hunger strike</i>	March 2, 1978	117
Unite to defend political prisoners in Iran <i>Central demonstration in Chicago and Austin-Texas in solidarity with and support of the hunger strike of political prisoners in Iran</i>	April 2, 1978	119
Condemn the massacre in Iran <i>Demonstration in Chicago, Atlanta and Houston, to protest the massacre of Moslems in Qum, Tehran, ...</i>	May 14, 1978	121
Moslems uprising in Iran, shakes the fascist system down <i>Central demonstration in Washington, D.C. to commemorate the uprising of Moslems on June 5, 1963 when about 10,000 people were massacred by the Shah's army</i>	May 26, 1978	123
Stop continuous Massacre in Iran <i>7-day hunger strike in Washington, D.C. to condemn the massacre in Isfahan and Shiraz and the imposition of martial law in Isfahan</i>	August 14, 1978	125
News release <i>4th day of the hunger strike</i>	August 19, 1978	127

News release <i>To expose the Shah's plot in burning to death of 377 innocent people in Rex Theatre, Abadan, on August 19, 1978</i>	August 20, 1978	129
Condemn the Shah's massacre, support the hunger strike <i>6th day of the hunger strike, Washington, D.C.</i>	August 21, 1978	131
Blessing of Eid-UI-Fitr <i>Ramadan 1398 (Lunar Hijri)</i>	August 27, 1978	133
Flood of blood in Tehran <i>Central demonstration in Indianapolis, Atlanta and Houston, to protest and condemn the massacre of about 5,000 innocent people in Tehran on Friday September 8, 1978 (Bloody Friday) and the imposition of martial law in Tehran and 11 other cities</i>	September 8, 1978	135
Expose the C.I.A.-Lexington Court plot against the 11 <i>Hunger strike and demonstration to protest the "conviction" of 11 anti-C.I.A. protesters in Lexington, Kentucky</i>	October 11, 1978	137
Bloody September <i>4-page pamphlet about a 50-minute documentary film, "Bloody September", from Moslems' popular demonstrations on September 4 & 7 and brutal massacre of about 5,000 people on September 8, 1978</i>	October 20, 1978	139
Documentary film of the September 8, 1978 mass killing in Tehran (Bloody Friday) <i>A leaflet on the film "Bloody September"</i>	October 24, 1978	143
Carter human rights supports massacre in Iran <i>To expose the Shah's regime, the U.S. support of the Shah and Carter's "Human Rights" policy</i>	October 29, 1978	145
Condemn martial law in Iran <i>Demonstration against the instalment of military government and the imposition of martial law across Iran</i>	November 7, 1978	147
Support the just struggle of the Iranian Moslem people <i>Announcement of central demonstration in Washington, D.C. on December 10 & 11</i>	December 4, 1978	149
Bloodbath in Iran <i>Demonstration in Washington, D.C. on December 10 & 11 in support of the revolutionary Islamic movement</i>	December 5, 1978	151
Expose U.S.-Shah new plot <i>To expose the instalment of the civilian government of Bakhtiar</i>	January 7, 1979	153
Criminal Shah flees Iran <i>On the Shah's flee from Iran on January 16, 1979</i>	January 20, 1979	155
Middle East "peace" treaty; Sadat's sell-out to U.S.-Israel <i>Demonstration in Washington, D.C. on March 26, 1979 to protest the Middle East "peace" treaty</i>	March 23, 1979	157

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE ANNIHILATOR OF ALL OPPRESSORS

Introduction

Political victory of the Islamic revolution has drastically changed the dimensions of the student movement abroad, and partially its content and scope. Now, the bulk of the political and ideological activities has to be carried out inside Iran. Furthermore, the new situation in Iran has created certain complexities among various political and ideological forces inside the country. Complexities which cannot be fully understood and analyzed from abroad, which inevitably limit the organization's ability in having an objective view of the exact nature and direction of the present fluid situation and rapid developments.

The 4th annual convention of the "Organization of Iranian Moslem Students", held in Chicago, Illinois during April 18-21, 1979, unanimously decided to dissolve the organization. The decision was reached due to the overthrow of the Shah's regime in February 1979, and its immediate and long-run consequences on the political situation in Iran as well as its significant repercussions for the student movement abroad. The mere fact that the convention was held at such an early date—months before August—solely arose from the victory of the Islamic movement and emergence of a new political atmosphere radically different from that of the Shah's era, and coming to the fore of new political and ideological issues. In this relation, another relevant factor which precipitated the dissolution of the organization was the growing trend of return to Iran of many of our members—encouraged by the organization.

We believe that our brothers and sisters who have already returned to Iran, as well as those who will do so in the future, should actively engage in the on-going politico-ideological struggle, and could, upon their own discretion, cooperate with or join revolutionary Islamic forces, and fulfill their commitment to the cause of the revolution.

Victory of the revolutionary Islamic movement under the leadership of the Ayatollah Khomeini in overthrowing the Shah's hated and reactionary monarchical regime does not by any means imply an end to the struggle; which will have to be waged against the remnants of the defeated regime, existing reactionary forces and the remaining hold-out of imperialism. We are certain that the movement will continue until the society and its people, through a thorough-going structural transformation, will move forward toward a monotheistic system; until the liberation of all the peoples of the world; and until the establishment of the sovereignty and the leadership of Qur'an-following Mostazefeen (the wretched of the earth). The movement will undoubtedly continue until exploitation and oppression are eliminated, and until Satan is defeated and annihilated.

The embryonic form of our organization took shape in 1972 in the unified political student organization, "Confederation of Iranian Students".* Our emergence, in the form of an Islamic current within the "Confederation", was in response to the dire necessity and urgent need for specific politico-ideological defense and support of the rising revolutionary Islamic movement which was on the ascendance. It should be mentioned, however, that on the basis of its democratic charter, even if strictly adhered to, the "Confederation", without an Islamic current in it, could not sufficiently defend and support the Islamic movement. It was, therefore, with respect to such a situation that along with and aside from our participation in the political activities of the "Confederation", we took it upon ourselves to educate and propagate the Islamic ideology and engage in the ideological struggle abroad in a constructive manner.

Charter of the organization, adopted in the first convention, states our objectives as such:

"On the basis of the historical necessity at this juncture of time that the revolutionary Islamic movement needs more and more support and propaganda, our organization; 'Organization of Iranian Moslem Students', as the only open Islamic student organization which defends and propagates the revolutionary Islamic movement, has been established. It is part of the Iranian people's movement and is affected by it. It has taken it upon itself to propagandize and propagate the Islamic ideology; overthrow of the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah and all other reactionary and puppet regimes; and also to propagandize and support all the Islamic organizations, groups and militant elements which, in one way or another, are fighting for a structural revolution in the path of creating a monotheistic society under the leadership of Mostazefeen (wretched of the earth). This organization also defends the Iranian people's movement in general, and all the militant elements, with any progressive ideology, and their democratic struggle. This organization also holds the task of supporting and propagandizing all the Islamic movements in the world, and defending all the progressive, anti-colonialist and anti-exploitation movements."

*"Confederation of Iranian Students", founded in early 1960's, was the unified political student organization outside Iran. According to its charter (passed in the 12th convention, January 1970), it was a democratic, anti-regime and anti-imperialist organization, and, as such, non-ideological. But, in actuality, soon it came to be dominated by Marxist factions. Lack of visible struggle in Iran during the 1963-1970 period, on the one hand, and upsurge in the peoples' struggles across the world under the influence and leadership of Marxists, the Chinese revolution, and emergence of Sino-Soviet dispute and its repercussions for Marxists of various persuasions, on the other, turned the "Confederation" into a scene of competition and propaganda among various Marxist political organizations. International political currents, and not political developments inside Iran, lay at the roots of factionalism and politico-ideological bickering in the "Confederation". And, of course, Moslems' ideological weakness at the time, their political inexperience and incompetence, and their eventual withdrawal from the "Confederation" in mid-60's, all contributed to the creation of a vacuum which further strengthened the Marxists' grip on the student organization.

Despite the Marxists' domination in the "Confederation" and their extensive propaganda, political and ideological capabilities in recruiting newcomers, and notwithstanding their one-sided and undemocratic approach to Moslems and the Islamic movement, however, the organization's general democratic characteristics still allowed Moslems some room for activity. Our participation in the "Confederation", in spite of the said considerations, precisely arose from our correct understanding and objective analysis of the necessity of united struggle against the regime and imperialism, as well as of the urgency of propagandizing the rising revolutionary Islamic movement and propagation of the Islamic ideology. Monafegheen's (Hypocrites) reactionary and bloody coup in the "Organization of Mujahideen of the People of Iran" (O.M.P.I.) and the Marxists' unconditional and blindfolded support for it, for all practical purposes, made it impossible for us to continue our participation in the "Confederation".

Our differences with the dominant Marxist faction in the "Confederation" came to a head in the Fall of 1975 when the reactionary coup in the "Organization of Mujahideen of the People of Iran" (O.M.P.I.) came to the light.† Their undemocratic conduct and unjustified positions in support of the treacherous coup of Monafegheen (Hypocrites) which was tantamount to a blindfolded endorsement of outright treason to the armed struggle and the people's movement, in effect, ruined any base of political-democratic cooperation between us and laid the grounds for our expulsion from the "Confederation". Having been forcibly expelled, finally, on June 30, 1976, we formally announced our disunion from the "Confederation".

Apart from the undemocratic nature of the "Confederation" in actuality, chronic opportunism of Marxist factions, and unfolding of political developments in Iran, and, their consequent reflections in the movement abroad, there existed an urgent necessity for a politically active, dynamic and militant Islamic student organization. Lack of such an organization in the movement abroad was long overdue ("Muslim Students' Association; Persian-Speaking Group"—M.S.A., P.S.G.—as a non-political association, has been active since late 1960's. However, since 1977, it has taken a political direction). This lack had become much more pressing due to the ever-expanding Islamic movement, on the one hand, and on the other, reactionary propaganda of Monafegheen and their collaborators and supporters against Islam and the Islamic movement—both inside and outside Iran.

Therefore, we set out on preparing the organizational framework of an Islamic student organization, which in the course of our first convention held during September 18-21, 1976, in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was called "Organization of Iranian Moslem Students".

In spite of all difficulties; lack of politico-organizational experience, insufficiency of ideologically-experienced cadres (activists), and vicious propaganda against our group from various sources, we managed to form the organization to fulfill our commitment to our heroic people. Due to the hard work and dedication of our brothers and sisters, and our objective analyses and precise positions on various issues in the movement, the organization soon experienced a rather high rate of quantitative and qualitative growth.

In sum, our activities over the past two and a half years (September 1976—April 1979) have been successful and productive. Given the historical weakness and inexperience of the political Islamic movement abroad, rapid growth of the revolutionary Islamic movement in Iran—since early 1970's—and its rather unprecedented rise to prominence over the past year and a half demanded much more energy and efforts, in both political and ideological aspects, than we could afford. However, we tried our hardest, within our limited confines and in spite of all odds, to keep pace with the movement and defend and support it to the best possible. Our greatest achievement in the student movement was to recognize the urgent necessity of the time; that is, lack of a politically active and militant Islamic student organization, and respond to it positively. That we did.

The 4th convention decided to compile and publish the demonstrable work of the organization over the past two and a half years in five volumes. The first volume, **The Process of the Formation of the Organization of Iranian Moslem Students and its Relations and Functions**, comprises an introduction by the 4th convention tracing the trend in the formation of the organization and how it functioned. It also includes the organization's charter, constitution and organizational regulations. The second volume, **Political Struggle Against the Reactionary and Treacherous Current of Monafegheen (Hypocrites)**, includes the documents representing our decisive and consistent struggle against the treacherous current of Monafegheen ever since the exposure of their hypocritical nature and reactionary policies and betrayal of the people's movement. The third volume, **Khordad Khouneen and Leaflets in Persian**, comprises of the organization's defense organ (Khordad Khouneen) and leaflets in Persian. The fourth volume, **Jihad and Posters**, includes the organization's political and propaganda organ (Jihad) and our posters. These four volumes are all in Persian.

†See the "Introduction" of *The Rise No. 1* and "Islamic Revolution in Iran: 1963-1979" in *The Rise No. 6*.

The present book, the fifth volume, includes the organization's English defense publication (*The Rise*) and leaflets in English. The following explanations concerning the present volume are in point.

1—In spite of our deep concern for and well-recognized grave responsibility in informing the American public opinion and other non-Persian speaking groups and communities of the plight of the Iranian oppressed people under the brutal dictatorship of the Shah's U.S.-backed regime; of defending and supporting the revolutionary movement against the regime and imperialism (the U.S. in particular); and of mobilizing support for the movement, however, due to the previously-mentioned weaknesses and limitations, we were not able in the beginning to establish and maintain continued contact with democratic and anti-imperialist circles through regular publishing of an English publication. This is why after *The Rise* number 1 (originally published in book form in July 1977), we were unable to continue publishing it for over a year. However, the unprecedented upsurge in the people's popular movement and the reactionary and distortive propaganda unleashed against it in the Western press, in the U.S. in particular, made the urgent necessity for exposing and explanatory work all the more pressing. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Marxist forces, both Iranian and otherwise, did not hesitate to distort or misrepresent the nature of the Iranian people's movement. And worse, some American Marxist groups even went beyond the slanderous propaganda propagated by the U.S. imperialism in attacking the Islamic movement. Therefore, we dedicated more energy and time to this area and published *The Rise* since October 1978 on a regular monthly basis; this time in a new format. To conform with the new format, *The Rise* number 1 has been retyped for inclusion in this volume. Its typing errors have been corrected as well.

2—Leaflets have been reprinted in their original form except that their typing errors have been corrected. Several leaflets have been retyped in full, solely because the existing copy would become illegible after reprinting. Also in the case of hunger strikes, in addition to the leaflet announcing the action, other leaflets have been issued for various consecutive days of the strike which differ from the original only in terms of the inclusion of the latest news. In order to avoid repetition, we have only sufficed to reprint the first and the last leaflet issued for the action.

3—Since the organization's political and propaganda organ (*Jihad*)—published in Persian—represents the exact positions and analyses of the organization, therefore, in case of possible incongruity and inconsistency between *Jihad* and *The Rise*, *Jihad* is to be considered authentic. It should be mentioned, however, that any possible incongruity between *Jihad* and *The Rise* is due to certain limitations; e.g., lack of experienced cadres, because of which we may not have been able to express and expound our positions and analyses in clear and precise language.

The Fourth and the Last convention of the
Organization of Iranian Moslem Students
April 1979

THE RISE

DEFENSE PUBLICATION OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN MOSLEM STUDENTS

P.O. BOX 401 WILMETTE, IL 60091

VOLUME 1

JULY 1977

NUMBER 1

In The Name Of God, The Annihilator Of All Oppressors

Introduction

Our organization, the "Organization of Iranian Moslem Students" is the only open organization of Iranian Moslem students outside Iran which is a part of the Iranian people's movement and affected by it, which has the task of defending and propagandizing the Islamic revolutionary movement, the task of spreading and propagating the Islamic ideology, the task of propagandizing the overthrow of the Shah's regime, propagandizing and supporting all Islamic organizations, groups, struggles and militants who are trying to perform a radical, revolutionary change in the direction of constructing a monistic society under the leadership of "Mostazefin"*, and militants (having any progressive ideology) and their democratic struggles.

This organization also supports and defends the people's movement in general, it holds the task of propagandizing and supporting the Islamic movements all over the world, and defending all progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-exploitative movements.

The appearance of our organization was an appropriate answer to the historical necessity of supporting and propagandizing the Islamic revolutionary movement. This necessity manifested itself more obviously just after the student movement proved unable in maintaining its democratic character, and hegemonism and secularism dominated over the "Confederation of Iranian Students."

It is to be mentioned that those responsible students who constituted the O.I.M.S. were previously organized and involved actively in the "Confederation of Iranian Students", the organization which had restored its relative militancy after rejecting the deviative lines and views, in the course of the split of the forces being active in it.

The atmosphere predominating this organization, had recognized the armed struggle as the only way to overthrow the regime and the armed propaganda as the most effective method to recruit and revolutionize the people in the direction of preparation for the revolution.

At that time two important revolutionary organizations were performing armed struggle and urban guerilla warfare in Iran: "The Organization of People's Fedai (Sacrificer) Guerillas with Marxist ideology and "The Organization of Iranian People's Mujahideen" (Combatants) with Islamic ideology. Of these two organizations, the second one, having been active for years, got able to spread very fast and to take advantage of the sympathy and support of many intellectual and religious media. This organization could behave brilliantly in practical as well as theoretical domain. Many of its members have ever been arrested by the Iranian regime. They have resisted brutal tortures, some of whom executed by the firing squads, some murdered under torture; and many of them are still in prison, continuing their resistance. Also many of its members have ever been killed in urban confrontations. This organization was the first Moslem organization in Iran which could completely divorce the traditional concept of Islam.

continued on page 2

*Mostazefin is a term used by Qur'an which means "the weakened" or "the wretched of the earth".

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN IRAN

"Let them torture, let us give up our flesh and veins for the cause of the people. As long as injustice exists, struggle exists, and as long as struggle exists, defeat and victory exist. But finally, victory belongs to the people. I do not claim this, history has said it, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people say it, the masses say it, and the masses always tell the truth."

From the last defense of the Mujahid Mehdi Rezai, martyred under brutal tortures of the Shah's secret police (SAVAK).

Ever since the nasty child of U.S. imperialism, the Shah, was placed back in power by a CIA-backed coup, a net of repression, terror, and mass murder has spread throughout Iran. In the early days of the coup, hundreds of Iranian patriots were murdered or sent in front of firing squads. Many others were sentenced to long prison terms, in order to reinforce the stronghold of the coup.

Why Repression?

Iran is located on the northern edge of the Persian Gulf and shares borders with Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq, and the Soviet Union. As far as mineral resources are concerned, Iran is one of the richest countries in the Middle East. In 1975, Iran was the second leading producer of oil in the world. Recent discoveries of large copper and uranium deposits could bring as much wealth to Iran as oil has already brought.

The increasing need for oil by the industrialized countries, the strategic importance of Iran's location, and the 1500 mile border with Russia are all factors which have made Iran a victim of outside imperialism, especially from the giant oil monopolies of the U.S. and Britain.

The existence of progressive governments in the countries of the Gulf region has always been considered a serious threat to the interest of the plundering imperialists. Imperialists have employed numerous methods to suppress progressive movements, including bribery, assassinations, and coups, in addition to more direct forms of involvement.

The 1952 nationalization of oil through the tireless efforts of Dr. Mossadegh, the expulsion of the Shah and his family, the closure of the British Embassy in the interests of the Iranian people, all confronted the influence of imperialism with a serious danger.

The CIA, with the assistance of reactionary elements such as
continued on page 2

CONTENTS

1- Introduction of the Organization.....	1
2- Political Repression In Iran.....	1
4- Iran in World Affairs.....	5
4- Expose the Shah's puppet dictatorial regime.....	10

continued from page 1

A few months after the first split in the "Confederation of Iranian Students" we received news saying that, "the Organization of Mujahideen has declared that it has accepted Marxism-Leninism as its ideology". This could reveal the facts happening in the organization during its last two years, the facts whose signs had been previously seen in different cases. The "Manifesto of the Declaration of the ideological Positions" of the so-called Mujahideen distributed just later, showed that a few "Marxists" abusing opportunistically the absence of many Moslem leaders and cadres who had been executed or imprisoned by the regime, had got able to occupy the positions of leadership by a plot, and to impose their beliefs and views in a non-democratic atmosphere. They also applied violence and tricks to "purify" the organization of the overwhelming majority of its members, just because they had defended their ideology and beliefs. These traitors, by cutting these members' organizational connections, provided the SAVAK, in the critical conditions of terror and oppression which necessitate underground and clandestine organization and struggle, with "ready preys". In addition, they went on further to execute Moslem leaders. In a word, the "leftists", in order to smash their ideological opponents, used almost the same methods and tactics applied by the regime, and then they justified everything under the veil of "ideological struggle" and claimed that in the process of discussion and satisfaction, the organization as a whole had changed its ideology. And now, it is so obvious to those who can look at the phenomenon carefully and without any prejudice or "childish enthusiasm", that the "purification" of the organization of more than 50% of its members, and the execution of some others, is an opportunistic, dirty coup d'etat and not a "perfection."

Thus those who initiated and directed this current, got actively involved in creating an anti-democratic atmosphere in the people's movement which is only in the service of the Shah's regime. It is obvious to everybody having the slightest familiarity with the democratic and political principles and culture, that, when the unity of all anti-imperialist forces is of a hot necessity, and when all these forces should be given the opportunity of getting organized, then no Marxists have the smallest right to penetrate in an Islamic organization, and to try to impose their beliefs on the whole organization, and to abuse the confidence and sincerity of the others. Also, those who change their ideology during their membership in such organization should leave it and build their appropriate one, or reorganize in other already-existing Marxist organizations.

Anyway, this event could create new problems in the "Confederation" and intensify the internal contradictions. Moslem students, being active in the "Confederation", like any other responsible individual or group, exposed reaction against this opportunistic and anti-democratic behaviour, and declared their non-acceptance for this new "creature" which called itself "the Organization of Mujahideen". They analyzed the highly negative results and effects of this coup in reinforcing the regime, weakening the atmosphere of unity in the anti-imperialists, anti-reactionary camp especially in prisons and superior schools, deviating the minds from the main contradiction to the secondary ones, causing the non-confidence of the masses towards the vanguard . . . They also insisted on the reasonable suggestion that the "Confederation" as a democratic organization would not have to recognize this new-arrived organization as a continuation of the well known "Mujahideen". But the sectarian, opportunist forces in the "Confederation", not feeling any responsibility about this important event which could dissipate the energy of the militants in internal frictions, held an antagonistic position towards us, annihilated any possibility for close collaboration, and not only declared their recognition of this coup-d'etat, but also prevented us from expressing our views, and went on further to abuse their administrative power and, following the method of those so-called Mujahideen, to "purify" the "Confederation" of us, to deprive us from member-

Introduction

continued from page 1

Political Repression In Iran General Zahedi, Ashraf (Shah's sister), and Shaaban Jafari (a reactionary) wrestler who is nick-named brainless by the people) drove out the danger posed by Mossadegh and his government. Nineteen million dollars of American money was spent to overthrow the national government of Dr. Mossadegh and bring the Shah (who had escaped to Italy) back to power. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross in their "The Invisible Government" stated that "there is no doubt at all that the CIA organized the 1953 coup, overthrew premier Mohammad Mossadegh, and kept the Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, on his throne." Victor Machetti, the former CIA staff member and the author of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence", has stated in different speeches on campuses across the country that the CIA managed the coup and overthrew the government of Dr. M. Mossadegh.

Shortly after the coup, the Shah started suppressing all opposition. During Richard Nixon's trip to Iran (he was then Vice President) in 1953, the Shah sent troops to the University of Tehran and ordered troops to shoot students who were protesting the auctioning of their national wealth. Three were murdered and many others wounded. During the next year, Dr. Fatemi (Mossadegh's Foreign Minister) and many army officers were executed by firing squads.

The United States mainly sought two goals in return for her 19 million dollar investment in the coup. First, the U.S. wanted to establish a secure base for her imperialistic operations in the area; a base which would serve to offset any Soviet influence. Secondly, the U.S. wanted to plunder Iran's national resources and to shift the Iranian economic system toward dependent capitalism. When dependent capitalism is accomplished, the Iranian economic system will depend upon the importation of western technology and con-

ship of the "Confederation".

At this time, when the democratic measures and principles of the people's movement were challenged and attacked openly outside as well as inside Iran, there was no other way for us than to reorganize in our appropriate independent organization.

Our organization started its life in September, 1976, through its successful congress in Oklahoma City. Since then, it has been trying seriously to achieve its tasks and goals. And now, it is developing quantitatively as well as qualitatively at a relatively high rate.

The organization, having drawn its lines with the traditional concept of Islam, does not follow any specific ideological line belonging to any other Islamic organization or group and holds and defends only those positions obtained in the process of internal and collective education, research and discussion.

In order to better realize its goals, our organization will collaborate, if necessary, with other progressive and anti-imperialist, anti-reactionary groups and organizations, regardless of their nationalities and ideologies, in specific and concrete cases, of course within the limits of its organizational principles.

The organization has ever been successful in sponsoring demonstrations against the Shah's smashing of revolutionaries, publishing its political defenses and research organs, publishing and distributing political and ideological books, booklets, and pamphlets in Persian, arranging educative seminars, and involving in many other activities.

Our organization hopes to get able to fulfill its tasks more and more, to intensify its struggle against the world imperialism headed by the U.S., and the reactionary regime of the Shah and all other reactionaries, and to attract the collaboration of the anti-imperialist forces.

**DOWN WITH THE U.S. IMPERIALISM.
DOWN WITH THE SHAH.**

VICTORY TO THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH AGAINST IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM, AND REACTION IN THE WAY OF CONSTRUCTING A FREE, MONOTHEISTIC AND CLASSLESS SOCIETY. □

sumer type goods, making the country even more dependent upon the U.S.

The "White Revolution" is a term which applies to a systematic plot designed by the Kennedy administration and claimed as a "national program" by the Shah, himself. A full discussion of the "White Revolution" is not the concern of this article. We shall however, discuss some of the inhuman social conditions which have resulted from this plot.

Peasants number 65% of the population of Iran. A few years after the "White Revolution" large numbers of poor peasants rushed to the cities in search of jobs. The widespread unemployment which resulted from this mass migration of peasants drove many of them to begging, crime, and prostitution. As Keyhan (daily Iranian newspaper which is highly censored by the government) reported: "The residents of the northern cities had to pull out their door bells because of the numerous beggars, who rang the bells constantly asking for a piece of bread."

The poverty stricken peasants, workers, and other social classes who have felt the heavy yoke of imperialism on their flesh, face systematic repression and terror imposed by the police, gendarmery (rural police) and the army. Any opposition is brutally put down. Those who dare attend progressive meetings are traced down and humiliated by the police. The years from 1953 to 1963 were the darkest times ever seen by the people of Iran.

June 5

Of the many uprisings which have been brutally suppressed by the Shah, we point out June 5, for two reasons; (1) massive size of the uprising and the rule of the clergy opposition with the help of other active Moslem organizations and (2) the important consequences which resulted from this uprising.

On June 5, 1963 the humiliated Iranian people who had tolerated much social and economical injustice in their society, with the encouragement of the religious leader, rush into the streets shouting "Victory to Khomeini" "Long live Khomeini," and "Down with the Shah." The Shah who is frightened of the clergy opposition and the popularity of the clergy among the different social layers, exiled Ayatollah Khomeini the religious leader of Iranian Moslems, and declared martial law and in just one evening the Shah's forces murdered 15,000 innocent people. Tanks and army jeeps equipped with machine guns were used to put down the uprising. For many days, army trucks were busy loading dead bodies and unloading them into large ditches outside the towns.

The massacre of June 5 is a turning point in the political atmosphere of the country. The people had witnessed the savage murder of their countrymen and the Shah, who had covered repression with a "democratic" mask, was now unmasked. The progressive intellectuals came to the conclusion that the regime had nothing in common with the people, the overthrow of the regime became the main concern, and armed struggle was seen as the only means to the overthrow.

An important culmination of the June 5 uprising happened in December of 1970, the day of guerilla warfare. In the Forests of Siahkal (a northern village), 12 revolutionaries captured a Gendarmery station and emptied it of its arms. The Shah's regime cannot afford to permit any type of opposition to begin. In order to put down the struggle, the Shah sent his army and flew his jet planes to destroy 12 revolutionaries. In the long battle which followed, ten men were murdered and 2 heroically escaped. University students and other intellectual groups soon took up the cause of the guerillas and guerilla warfare found much sympathy among the people.

The Shah has imposed systematic repression on different social classes. Worker strikes, peasant uprisings, and any other type of demonstration is met with swift brutality. Executions, assassinations, kidnappings, and torture all surpass anything seen in history. Iranian prisons are crowded with revolutionary clergymen, guerilla fighters, workers, artists, students and anyone else sympathetic

to the cause of revolution.

Instruments of Repression

The National Organization of Security and Information (SAVAK) was established in 1956 "with the aid of the CIA and Israeli Intelligence." (Washington Post, 9/4/76). At the time of its organization, the main goal of the SAVAK was the annihilation of the remainder of Mossadegh's sympathizers. The SAVAK's mission was later extended to gathering information concerning any opposition to the Shah's regime, from single individuals to organized groups. Depending upon the popularity and the type of subversive activity, the SAVAK was to assassinate, execute, or imprison all opposition.

The gathering of such information requires a huge network of intelligence agents. Jean Michel Braunschwig, of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, said, upon returning from his trip to Iran to investigate the conditions of political prisoners, "The political police, SAVAK, with an estimated 20,000 permanent staff and more than 180,000 informers, is ever present at all levels of Iranian society, and no one can be sure of anyone else whatever his social standing is."

Newsweek, October 14, 1976 reported that, "between 30,000 and 100,000 people work for SAVAK full time, but this number is only the skeleton of a much larger creature."

All law enforcement agencies are concentrated on political cases. The CIA has full supervisory power over SAVAK, Police, and Gendarmery (rural police). High ranking SAVAK agents, especially those trained in torture methods are trained in the U.S. in special institutes which develop new scientific methods of physical and psychological tortures. These men are later sent to Israel to practice their lessons. Jack Anderson states, "The SAVAK secret police, 200,000 strong, have been expertly trained by the Israeli Secret Service, the Central Intelligence Agency, and Agency for International Developed Agents." (May 20, 1976)

SAVAK agents are scattered throughout Iranian society. They function among taxi drivers, real estate agents, parking lot attendants, factory workers and government agencies. They also function in high schools and universities. SAVAK places agents in factories where there has been open opposition to oppressive labor practices. The Department of Security and Supervision in factories serves as a sub-station of the SAVAK. These departments are staffed by retired army officers who closely watch all activity of the workers. This is especially true if there had been any hint of unrest in a particular factory.

Due to the nature of college and university student bodies, these groups have had a long history of unrest. Numerous bloody uprisings have widely exposed the real face of the regime among the university students. The SAVAK has tried to infiltrate the student movement, but, like other opposition, the student movement has only grown stronger in the face of the Shah's repression. Due to the struggles of university students, the regime has established open repression on the campuses of most universities. The "Guard" has set up stations in every institution of higher learning in the country. "Guardsmen" are specially selected policemen who are trained in how to break student demonstrations. The brutality of many of the "Guardsmen" has led to the death of many students and the wounding of many others.

The opposition of the clergy draws special attention from the regime. The historical revolutionary struggles of the Moslems have created a revolutionary culture which has transferred through the generations to the present time. The abolishment of all types of oppression and exploitation is a basic principle of Islam and a monarchy system of government is considered oppressive. Jihad (combat) is the task of every Moslem in behalf of the principles of Islam.

In traditional Islamic society, the task of advocating the principles of Islam was given to the holy men who have always been under attacks from whatever oppressing regime happens to be in power at the time. Today, the anti-Islamic regime of the Shah has

imposed almost intolerable oppression on the clergymen. The Shah's regime has employed various tactics designed to undermine the influence of the clergymen and of Islam in general. First, the Shah's regime has tried to isolate the younger generation from the true revolutionary culture of Islam. This is done through the use of "clergymen" assigned by the SAVAK to advocate the Shah's religion in the name of Islam. The changing of the Islamic calendar to the "Royal calendar" is but one example of these tactics. Secondly, the regime has tried to destroy the present Islamic movement in all its aspects by destroying those engaged in armed struggle, those who formulate the Islamic Movement, the revolutionary intellectuals, and the masses. In order to destroy the influence of the clergymen, the SAVAK keeps close watch on all religious gatherings in the mosques, theological schools, occasional special sermons, and the traditional mass rallies in honor of the martyrdom of Imam Hossein (leader of the Shi'ite sect of the 6th century). No religious gatherings are allowed in houses unless the local police station is informed and special permission granted. Otherwise, the gathering is called "anti-state" and is brutally attacked by the police "commandos".

The SAVAK has prepared a list of the preachers who are authorized to preach in the mosques and at other religious gatherings. These "preachers" are considered harmless to the regime. People wishing to hear a sermon have no other choice but to listen to one of the SAVAK appointed "preachers".

On June 17, 1975, SAVAK and police forces launched a bloody attack on the students of Qom theological schools. Since then, all theological schools have been under the direct control of the SAVAK with 24-hour guard. During the month of Moharram (prohibition month) the police and army forces are on full alert. On the Day of Ashura (day of the martyrdom of Imam Hossein and his family) when mass rallies are held throughout the country, police guards various rallies to make sure that several groups do not join together in any demonstrations.

The progressive intellectuals, writers, and artists are no exception to the Shah's repressive rule. Any progressive literature which is considered harmful undergoes the process of censorship and the author is subjected to inhuman treatment. The mass media is highly controlled by the SAVAK. Progressive elements are forbidden any contact with the mass media and all communication devices are at the disposal of reactionary writers and artists. Libraries and bookstores are regularly attacked by the SAVAK who collect all "harmful" books. Each year, large numbers of books are burned.

The night search is another method used by the SAVAK to get a foothold on the revolutionary movement. These attacks are usually performed early in the mornings and are usually carried out in poor areas. An entire area is surrounded by police and each house is completely searched. When questioned by the people, the police will claim that they are following a "terrorist" into the area and that he is hidden somewhere in this neighborhood.

SAVAK activities are not restricted to the boundaries of Iran. SAVAK has a wide network of intelligence apparatus abroad where Iranian students or any other opposition to the regime is active. SAVAK engages in spying, assassinations, and identifying elements active in the opposition. The Washington Post of September 4, 1976, reported that Ahmad Malek, First Secretary of Iran's diplomatic mission to the U.N. office in Geneva, was a senior SAVAK agent engaged in prohibited intelligence activities and was responsible for watching Iranian students in Western Europe.

In the United States, the SAVAK cooperates with the CIA and FBI and engages in many illegal activities which are unconstitutional according to U.S. law. During a recent interview with a CBS reporter, the Shah confessed that he has agents on duty in the U.S.

Reporter: and they are aware of the purpose of checking up on Iranian students?

Shah: checking up on anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country.

Reporter: and they are there with knowledge and consent of U.S. government?

Shah: I think it is.

Torture

"No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran." Martin Enuals, Secretary of Amnesty International.

For many of the political prisoners, torture is a daily ordeal prior to and after the phony trials. Yet, the regime rejects all accusations concerning the widespread use of torture on political prisoners. In a recent interview with the Shah, televised over the CBS network, the Shah denied the existence of torture in his prisons. Time magazine (August 16, 1976) quotes from the Shah, "We do not need to torture people anymore. We use the method some of the very highly developed nations of the world are using, psychological torture." Despite the Shah's claims, the use of torture in Iranian prisons is infamous. In spite of the fact that there are no contacts between the international organizations for human rights and the regime of the Shah, all of these organizations have reported the use of torture in Iran. "The Iranian government has consistently denied that torture is used, but as no systematic inquiry has ever been made into the allegations, their validity can only be judged by a study of the available materials. Amnesty International has only one signed statement alleging torture; most of the available information about torture is contained in the reports of the observers who have attended the trial of the political prisoners in Iran. Nearly all of these prisoners have retracted their confessions in court on the grounds that they were made under torture and therefore not valid. Allegations relate to the period of pretrial custody, which may be several months." (Amnesty International Report on Torture.)

The Washington Post, of July 29, 1976, said "There is abundant evidence showing the systematic use of impermissible methods of psychological and physical torture of political suspects during interrogation." The London Sunday Times of January 19, 1975, said "Torture of political prisoners is regularly practiced in Iran."

From the time that one is arrested for any number of reasons, he undergoes a series of inhumane tortures. Prisoners are kept in SAVAK custody for an unlimited time until the desired "confessions" are extracted under torture. During interrogation, the suspect has no right to have any visitors, even members of his own family.

SAVAK tortures of political prisoners mainly take on two forms. 1) Pre-trial tortures. In this period, the most barbarous tortures are practiced on the prisoner in order to force him to reveal the names and addresses of persons in contact with him, the place where "subversive literature" is published, and any other information that may lead SAVAK to make other arrests. Later, the detainee is tortured to sign the made-up charges against him or her for inclusion in the trial files.

2) Post-trial tortures. These torture sessions include most of the political prisoners. Systematic torture is applied to break the revolutionary confidence of the prisoner and to prepare him for SAVAK television "shows". The prisoners are tortured to renounce their opposition to the regime publicly. These "shows" are aimed to promote despair and pacifism among the sympathizers of the revolutionary movement.

Sources of Information

The present police state in Iran has made it practically impossible to obtain any information about the conditions of the political prisoners from official sources. The information presented in this article is the result of the investigations of the international organizations for human rights or the personal testimony of prisoners who have escaped or who have been released from prison.

In the past years representatives of various international organizations for human rights were permitted to attend a few

military trials in Iran. Permission to attend these trials was reluctantly granted under pressure from international organizations for human rights. In more recent times, the regime has absolutely refused to allow these representatives to attend court sessions. Despite all these hindrances, these organizations have made several trips to Iran to investigate the conditions of political prisoners. The information collected by these agencies consists of first-hand information from prisoners who have been tortured or who have seen others being tortured as well as information from foreigners who have lived near police stations.

Methods of Torture

In discussing methods of physical torture, we are talking about such acts as the pulling out of the finger nails, application of electric shocks, hot water enemas, and the insertion of broken bottles into the rectum.

Time magazine of August 16, 1976, reported "The country's repertory of tortures includes not only electric shocks and beatings, but also the insertion of bottles in the rectum, hanging weights from the testicles, rape, and such apparatus as a helmet that, worn over the head of the victim, magnifies his own screams."

For the elements of tough resistance, the application of tortures lasts longer and becomes more brutal. The London Sunday Times reported from a two-year investigation based on the testimony of one prisoner, how an engineer, Asghar Badiehzadegan, was so badly burned that he was disabled. "He was slowly burned by means of an electric fire while his hands and legs were tied to a bed. He was so badly burned in the lower lumbar areas that it reached some of the vertabral bones and he fell into a coma. He was then untied and left with his wounds in a putrid state, so much so that the stink of the infected flesh filled out the cell and nobody would come near it. He was then transferred to the prison hospital and underwent several operations. But he can no longer walk, only crawl on all fours." (January 19, 1975)

Beating by metallic whip is another cruel means of torture. The prisoner is tied to a bed with his feet reaching out from the bed. The toes are whipped over and over until the flesh tears apart. The prisoner is then forced to get up and walk. This process is repeated several times. Most of the prisoners who underwent this type of torture have stated that the walking becomes intolerable after a short period of time.

One of the few instances when international observers could attend the prosecution of political prisoners was in 1972. The representatives of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Federation of Human Rights, and the International Association of Catholic Lawyers attended the trial of Ali Mihandoost and Nasser Sadegh. Although SAVAK appointed its own interpreters for the observers, they talked to the prisoners personally. One of the prisoners took off his shirt and showed 3-inch scars on his back as result of torture.

The cruelty of the torture has caused the death of many political prisoners. Jean Michel Braunschwich, a representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, said in January of 1976 as a result of his trip to investigate the situation of political prisoners in Iran, "Some foreigners living near one police station assured us that they had many times seen blindfolded prisoners being brought in from police vehicles who were never seen leaving alive." The brutal tortures resulted in the death of 60-year old clergyman Ayatollah Ghaffari, whose feet were burned in boiling oil. His skull was also pierced by means of an electric drill.

In addition to physical torture, SAVAK uses numerous psychological tortures. These tortures consist of maltreatment of the victim's family or friends in his presence. Miss Ashraf Dehghani, a former prisoner who escaped from jail, mentions in her book "The Epic of Resistance," that her brother, Behrouz Dehghani was tortured to death and his screams were amplified into her cell in order to force her to talk.

IRAN IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Introduction

The revolutionary struggles of the people everywhere against the world imperialism under the hegemony of the U.S. and her reactionary puppets, are growing at a multiple rate.

The heroic victory of the people of South East Asia; the ever-increasing struggle of the revolutionary forces in the Middle East; the formidable struggle of the Africans against colonialism and imperialism; and also the struggle of the Latin American people, are, in entirety, leading toward a revolutionary era. These struggles also witness the fall of the imperialists and their watchdogs.

Reactionary and imperialistic forces, in their hopeless, and extremely wild aggression are attempting to exploit the oppressed people of the world with tooth and nail. Without any optimism, they are trying to avoid their certain death. Unaware of the fact that the revolutionary forces would not give them any chance to survive, still they are determined to win.

Aggressive imperialists have let their cruel and stupid watchdogs free to suck the blood of the poor masses on the whole planet.

The vastness in sources both human and natural, has made the strategically important Middle East, particularly Iran, the most focal point in the global struggle of imperialists. The following pages focus on Iran's participation in the battle among revolutionary and reactionary forces engaged in the region (Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean). Furthermore, the present attempt is an effort to survey the role of Iran as a stooge, scapegoat and watchdog of imperialism.

Overview

After the second World War was over, Great Britain, which was the strongest imperialist power henceforth, was weakened. The

A report by Mr. Bandelot, representing the International Association of Democratic Jurists and the International Association of Catholic Jurists states, "The tortures are also practiced on the next of kin, according to former prisoners. One of the prisoners mentioned to Mr. Bandelot the case of a woman who was raped in front of her husband. He also mentioned the case of a 17 year old who was given a whipping and subjected to electric tortures in front of his father and of a four year old child who was whipped and whose neck was cut in front of his mother. One of the prisoners questioned by the lawyer told him that it had been so unbearable for him to see his son tortured that he had wished for a knife to kill his son rather than watch him suffer." (LeMond, December 1974)

Probably the most striking case of brutality is what has been done to the heroic Rezai family. Mr. Jean Michel Braunschwich, of International Democratic Lawyers reports: "One example given to us was the Rezai family whose three sons were all killed (two executed and one assassinated). Since then, the police have arrested the father, mother, and two sisters of these men, as well as their two brothers-in-law. No trial proceedings are foreseen." This report was prepared in March 1976. Since then, Miss Sedigheh Rezai, one of the daughters, has been killed and Mrs. Aziz Rezai, the mother of the family, has been repeatedly tortured. Her screams have been taped and later played several times to her husband. Some reliable reports have said that Mr. Rezai is now in a mental state due to the extreme psychological tortures. Mehdi Rezai, 18 years old, was murdered under torture and the last son of the family has been jailed for no obvious reason.

Nearly all organizations on human rights that have visited Iran have said that the only law that means anything in Iran is the Shah and what he says. Amnesty International reported that "It can be concluded that enough prima facie evidence of torture exists to warrant a properly constitutionalized inquiry." □

U.S. Imperialism which was not involved in the war directly, and was in a good political and economic situation replaced Britain as another imperialistic adventurer. She was the only country in possession of the atomic weapons and was much advanced in the armament industry. For sometime, there was a gap in the world power politics. The U.S. exploited this golden opportunity and emerged as the "Leader" of the world imperialism. But it did not last very long, because she saw herself confronting all kinds of political and economic crises, internal as well as external. These were due to two main factors:

- 1) The victory of the revolution in China, and in general, the awakening of the people of the Third World, which limited the scope of her avariciousness.

- 2) The direct military involvement of the U.S. all over the world, especially in Indochina, which eventually weakened her economy. Of course the internal pressure of the public opinion helped this process by lodging criticism on the country's adventures abroad.

The U.S. imperialism, in the late 1960's, was facing very serious political difficulties on the international scene. In spite of her advancement in military, she suffered a very bitter defeat in the war in Indochina. The Vietnamese proved that, no matter how advanced and strong the enemy, once the masses rise up, they would essentially gain the victory, and would be able to knock down any enemy.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was a defeat of the policy of "direct involvement" in other countries.

After the defeat in Vietnam, the imperialists moved towards this side of Asia, namely, the Middle East, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, because of the economic and strategic significance of this region. The experience in Vietnam resulted in the "Nixon Doctrine" in Asia which stood for the "Asianization" in consonance with the "Vietnamization" which meant "the use of mercenaries and of the armies of client regimes in the place of U.S. combat troops." (In this article, only the military aspects of the "Nixon Doctrine" has been taken into consideration, while its economic aspects needs a separate detailed treatment which is beyond the scope and the purpose of the present attempt).

The "Nixon Doctrine" was based on three principles and was given out in the State of the World Address on February 18, 1970: "First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments. Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our society.

Third, in cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nations directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense."

Of course this doctrine was not anything new, as in the early 1950's Eisenhower had declared "If there must be a war there in Asia let it be Asian against Asian." (cited in James A. Donovan, *Militarism U.S.A.*)

The "Nixon Doctrine" was the same as Eisenhower's but was like old wine in a new bottle. Its aim was merely the partial withdrawal of American military personnel from Asia (Vietnam, South Korea, Japan, Thailand, Okinawa, and the Philippines) to cause a partial "disengagement" of America, and instead to strengthen the reactionary regimes of the region, in order to play the role played by the Americans earlier. In pursuance of the indirect involvement, one of the countries selected to play the role for the U.S. was Iran. This was due to the extreme degree of dependency and puppetness on behalf of the reactionary regime of the Shah for the U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, because of the strategic importance of Iran, the deficient Shah could play a better role of a demigod.

Before getting into the nature and details of the role played by Iran, let us look into the geo-political importance of the region.

1) Economic Importance:

The economic importance of the Persian Gulf is due mainly to the increasing production of oil. It bears more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the known world oil reserves. The increasing need of the imperialist countries for the most important and the cheapest source of energy is more than what it appears to us. For example, the Western European countries import $\frac{3}{4}$ and, Japan more than 90% of its petroleum needs from the Persian Gulf. The U.S. dependency on the oil from the Persian Gulf will increase to more than 50% by 1980.

But what makes it even more important for her is that the U.S. oil companies monopolize most of the oil going out of the Gulf, and they make billions of dollars every year. This directly helps the economy of the U.S. and keeps it away from economic crisis. Other kinds of importance besides oil are: other sources in raw material such as minerals (copper, uranium, gold, zinc, and silver) also cheap labor for foreign-controlled light industries including both manufacture of parts to be assembled in the home country, and assembly plants for parts manufactured in the home country—neither process contributing much to the local economy. A potential market for the products of the more industrialized countries, the opportunity for an early and potentially lucrative role in the basic economic and financial institutions of the area.

2) Strategic Importance:

The strategic position of the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean and the Middle East is very important for the world imperialists. This area is the communication transit among Asia, Africa and Europe. The Persian Gulf provides the main water connection for the Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It facilitates the easy access to the three continents.

Another important factor for the U.S. imperialism is the role that the Soviet Union plays in the region. The economic and strategic importance existing in the region attracts the Soviet Union, too. The counter-revolutionary approach that the Soviet Union has, is to penetrate into the countries which are in contradiction with the western countries for one or the other reason, and act by helping them through arms buildup, economic assistance, etc. then by military penetration into the waters of the area, to overthrow the U.S. imperialistic hegemony and gain this hegemony for herself. The scope of this policy is even extended to the liberation movements inside the region. The Soviet Union tries to control and deviate these movements from their original policies in order to bargain with the western countries, which finally leads towards her own benefits.

All of these make one side of the coin, the other side is the ever increasing liberation movements in most of the Third World countries in general and in Asia in particular. The Palestinian liberation movement and the revolution in Oman and Yemen have been acting as arsenals for revolutionaries of the entire region and this is what has been bothering the imperialists, counter-revolutionaries, and the reactionary regimes in the Middle East and the Gulf area.

The Nature Of The Role Of Iran

The reason Iran was selected to play the role of the "Mini-U.S." in the region has certain historical roots.

It has been more than one century that Iran has been under political and economic aggression of the colonialists and has lost its political and economic independence, except between 1950-1953 under the government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh. Dr. Mossadegh closed the doors of Iran to the imperialists (British imperialism was dominant in Iran at that time). He nationalized the oil industry. But it did not last long, before the CIA and Britain, quite against the will of the people of Iran, engineered a coup in 1953, and overthrew the popular government of Dr. Mossadegh. The Shah came back to power. He followed the old policy of "open doors" to serve the interests of his imperialist masters, now under the hegemony of the U.S. imperialism. Since then the U.S.

has been supplying arms and economic assistance to Iran, in order to keep the reactionary regime of the Shah in power, and instead, the Shah has shown that he and his regime are very obedient servants of their imperialist masters. The Shah has proved that he is a puppet of the U.S. imperialism by all means. This was one of the determining factors which led to the selection of Iran to become gendarme of the Gulf Area.

In addition:

- 1) The strategic position of Iran is because of her domination in the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. This dominance is due to the fact that Iran shares about 580 km. of common frontier with the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea which is more in ratio than any other country in the Gulf area. Also its access to the Indian Ocean through the strait of Hormoz makes the case of Iran stronger.

- 2) Vast oil reserves and the resultant income have provided the ability to buy arms and modern sophisticated weapons.

- 3) Its comparative advancement in economy and social relations in the area, makes it a unique case.

- 4) The strong air force, the navy, and an army, numbering collectively 280,000 personnel.

- 5) Population-wise, Iran is the most populated country in the region.

In fact the Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco in 1974 appraised these reasons by saying: "Iran by virtue of its population, its economic strength and its geographic position along the northern shore of the Gulf is destined to play a major role in providing for stability in the Gulf and the continual flow of oil to consumer countries".

Needless to say that the "major role" that Sisco is talking about, is nothing but the role of Iran as the gendarme of the Gulf to safeguard "the continual flow of oil to consumer countries". Moreover, the "stability" is nothing but the stability of the interests of the imperialists.

Another important point which should be mentioned here, is the fact that there was contradiction within the U.S. imperialism itself in selecting Iran as the gendarme of the Gulf. For example, Saudi Arabia was another option, which met some of the imperialistic requirements, plus her puppetness and dependence on the U.S. imperialism was as obvious as the case of Iran. But what led the U.S. to select Iran, was the fact that Iran is a non-Arab country, hence could act more freely in the Middle East than her Arab counterpart. For example, Iran supplies oil to Israel (even though the reactionary regime of the Shah pretends that it supports the Palestinians and the Palestinians' cause), which is heavily rooted deep in the economy and politics of Iran (After the Sadat's sell-out to the U.S. in 1975, Iran has been supplying Israel with the same amount of oil which she previously extricated from Abu-Rodais in Sina). But Saudi Arabia and/or any other Arab country could not meet Israeli requirements so efficiently because of their so-called support for the Palestinians. Of course the U.S. has been providing military assistance to Saudi Arabia since the 1940's. In the past decade and especially since the oil boom in the late 1960's this assistance has increased on a multiple rate. Now after Iran, Saudi Arabia is another rising power in the region. Both Iran and Saudi Arabia make the two biggest U.S. arms clients in the present-day world. Along with Iran and Saudi Arabia the U.S. imperialism and its coteriemens have been assisting the other reactionary regimes in the region such as Oman, North Yemen, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, by providing them with all kinds of weapons. This arms build up has two main benefits for the imperialists, especially for the U.S.:

Firstly, by doing so, they strengthen the reactionary regimes in the region against the revolutionary forces from within and without.

Secondly, the money that the military complex of the U.S. imperialism gets out of these arms sales is incredibly high, and in fact

this is what keeps this complex going. It helps keeping the balance of power by arming all potential adversaries in the region on a competitive basis.

The weakened economy made Britain unable to bear the costs of military bases in the Persian Gulf and subsequently she decided to withdraw her military forces by 1971. Before evacuating the Gulf, Britain put six reactionary emirates of the Gulf together, that is, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Sharja, Ajman, Ummal Quwaim and Fujaira. Ras al Khaima, the seventh one, refused to join them under a single federation. The motivation behind the so-called federation was to strengthen the British interests in the Gulf. Foreign Secretary Sir. Alec Douglas Home had encouraged the establishment of a Union of the States in the region in order to produce "a sound basis for a continuing and effective British contribution to the stability of the area"! The policy measures, outlined by Sir Alec were followed upon by the British imperialism. These measures were: "To assure success of the Union, British would take these measures: treaty of friendship with the Union, "undertaking to consult together in time of need"; stationing British training teams and other military "Elements" in a training and liaison role if the Union forces desire; and regular training exercises to be held jointly with the British army and air force units."

The Iranian diplomacy started when the British forces withdrew from the Persian Gulf. Iran replaced Britain as the paramount power to enforce "stability" there. As the first step, on November 30, 1971, the Shah's troops in an advance arrangement with Britain and the U.S., took over three Persian Gulf islands of Tunb (both greater and lesser) and Abu Musa. These islands are near the Strait of Hormoz and are of utmost strategic importance. One year later, in December 1972, after a secret agreement between Iran and Sultan Qaboos of Oman, Iranian forces took over an Omani island named al-Ghanam. The occupation of this island enabled Iran to control the Strait of Hormoz from the other side of the Gulf. The Shah started to build new naval bases on these islands.

Shah's Troops In Oman

Dhofar is a part of Oman which is located in the southeastern part of Arabian peninsula. It is bordered by South Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Muscat and the Indian Ocean. Because of its oil resources, minerals such as copper, gold, silver, zinc, and also its strategic position, Oman has been of a vital interest. The British Crown dominates the mentioned sources of this cross-Indian-cis-Gulf country.

The armed struggle in Dhofar started on June 9, 1965, and it aimed to liberate Dhofar from the domination of British imperialism and the reactionary regime of Oman. In 1967, the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen was established and became the mainstream supporter of the revolution in Dhofar. In a short time most of Dhofar except the city of Salaleh was liberated. This was quite against the interests of the imperialists dwelling on the support of the reactionary regime of Oman under Sultan Qaboos. Its germs being felt all around could not be dismissed easily by henchmen of Qaboos.

Qaboos being unable to defeat the revolutionary forces and Iran as a part of her gendarme duty, on December 20, 1973, launched an offensive operation in Dhofar. The Shah sent more than 3,000 troops to Oman, aiming to wipe out the revolutionaries in a short period of time. The subversive operations of the Shah's mercenaries went even beyond Dhofar, extending to South Yemen.

At present, after the four years of staunch resistance offered by the PFLO (Popular Front for Liberation of Oman), the imperialists and their Shahs are licking their wounds in a new Vietnam.

Flow Of Arms To Iran

After the Shah came back to power, the U.S. imperialism has been supplying his regime with all kinds of arms. In 1971, the U.S. and Britain started reinforcing Iranian military posture under a one

THE RISE

billion dollar defense program which was launched at filling the vacuum created by the departure of the British troops from Bahrain, Qatar, and the seven crucial states. This arms build up was purported to counteract the Soviet influence and the liberation movements in the area. It was scheduled to be completed by 1975, and stipulated the purchase of Phantom fighter-bombers for the air force from the U.S. and 800 new tanks, missile-equipped frigates and helicopters from Britain.

Particularly since May, 1972 when Nixon visited Iran, the flow of arms to Iran has reached to billions of dollars. The U.S. was willing to "continue to cooperate with Iran in strengthening its own defense." So Nixon directed "sell Iran any conventional weapons system that it wanted."

In 1973, Iran reached a contract to purchase more than two billion dollars worth of military equipment from the U.S. This arms deal was the biggest single contract ever worked out by the Pentagon. Among the equipment were helicopter gunships, F-5E supersonic interceptors, F-4 fighter-bombers and C-130 transport planes.

In the fiscal year of 1974, Iran spent over four billion dollars in buying arms, including 80 F-14 jet fighters. This purchase bailed out the Grummans, the manufacturer of the plane with a massive loan. According to the American sources, the F-14 jet fighters are so complex that even the U.S. Air Force finds its operation not an easy task.

Again in 1975, Iran purchased 2.5 billion dollars worth of the military hardware, making one of the largest amounts ever spent in the area. Simultaneously, concluded an agreement with Rockwell International, a U.S. defense company of Anaheim, California, to construct a communications intelligence base in Iran capable of intercepting military and civilian communications throughout the Persian Gulf. Construction of this device would take 5-10 years to be completed at an estimated cost of 500 million dollars.*

Including the purchases of Iran from the United States are four destroyers which are even more sophisticated than those being built for the U.S. Navy. Iran is ambitious to have a 37-battery improved Hawk air defense system, which includes 1,800 missiles and 1,000 buildings at 50 locations; 258 new helicopters; 298 self-propelled howitzers; and more than 10,000 antitank missiles. After five years since 1972, Iran has lavished 10.4 billion dollars on the most sophisticated weapons from the United States. This is the largest quantity of the arms supply ever sold to Iran by any other country. The latest development is an agreement signed in Tehran on August 7, 1976 during Kissinger's visit to Iran. It spells out the purchase of 10 billion dollars worth of arms from the U.S. as a part of a 1975-80 trade agreement, defending the size of the weapons transaction, Kissinger told a news conference "the threats, potential threats, that Iran faces and the armaments of its neighbors" it was "in the national interest of the United States to supply Iran with arms."

The table (Foreign Military Sales and Military Assistance Facts, December, 1976) below, shows the purchases of arms from the U.S. by Iran since 1950: (Dollars in thousands)

Fiscal Year	Amount	Amount Delivered
1950-66	292,494	47,292
1967	143,873	38,866
1968	69,038	50,717
1969	251,573	94,881
1970	113,154	127,717
1971	396,841	79,352
1972	519,110	214,807

* This will indirectly help the espionage done by the SAVAK, the secret police of Iran, in her operations which are extended beyond the boundaries of Iran.

1973	2,157,355	238,633
1974	4,373,225	510,347
1975	3,020,979	956,370
1976	1,382,062	1,231,602
Total	12,796,327	4,050,103

If we add the purchases from Britain, France, Germany,...the total goes much higher than this, and Iran becomes the largest purchaser of arms in the entire world.¹

Along with the arms sale, the number of the Americans in Iran has been increasing tremendously. Since 1972, the number of American military advisors and technicians stationed in Iran has jumped from 8,000 to 24,000. At the current rate of Iranian arms growth, this number will reach 60,000 or more by 1980. A report for the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee says:

"Iranian armed forces lack the skills needed to operate the sophisticated military systems they have bought, unless increasing numbers of American personnel go to Iran in a support capacity." And also: "it turns out that Iranians can't handle it. If they ever have to use all that hardware, they'll need U.S. support on a day-to-day basis." It is not irrelevant here to quote from Nixon, who said in 1972: "As long as they've got the money, give them what they want and don't ask whether they can handle it."

Conclusion

All the weapons being purchased by the Shah are from the oil revenues. Actually this lion's share of the income should have been spent on the welfare of the wretched and battered people of Iran. But the welfare of the depressed and poor Iranians does not concern nor correspond to his aggressive self-glorification. His corrupted establishment cannot meet the urgencies of the time.

On the other side, the armed struggle which started seven years ago, is ever-increasing despite the butchering of hundreds of revolutionaries by the fascist Shah. The revolutionary climate inside and also in the region (Oman) has isolated the Shah, and caused him many internal and external problems from which there is no escape. The Shah, the imperialists, and likewise all the reactionaries in the whole world, are digging their own graves by their own hands by dint of their misdeeds. They are foreseeing their definite fates, in the shape of disgraceful defeats and death. As martyr Mujahid Reza Rezai says: "...You should know that Iran is one of the last strongholds of the revolution in the world. Iran is one of the last places that imperialism will fight in. And one must be hopeful that Iran would provide the grave for the imperialists. Our people must endure strongly the greatest and the longest battles of the history."

The heroic victory of the Vietnamese people proves that the just struggle of the Iranian people, the Omanese, the Palestinians, the people of the third world conjoined with the oppressed people of the whole world will achieve the final victory. As the Qur'an says:

And we desire to show favour unto those who were oppressed in the earth, and to make them examples and to make them the inheritors. □

1) It is baffling to see many progressive countries like China, because of the dissensions inside the "socialist-camp," supporting the Shah at the cost of the common people. To illustrate and analyze the Chinese viewpoint towards the fascist Shah and his arms build up, the following is an article from the Peking Review (No. 37, September 8, 1976):

Determined to Resist Aggression

Iran will fight hard to resist aggression; no aggressor can ever set foot on Iranian soil without being hit back, declared Shahanshah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi recently at a 40,000-strong rally.

footnote continued on page 9

THE RISE

footnote continued from page 8

"Are we prepared to hand over, without any resistance, our country to others? I do not wait for your answer because it can be only no," he said.

When Shahanshah Pahlavi said this, he was expressing the Iranian people's strong desire to defend national independence and state sovereignty and at the same time reflecting the common demand of the peoples of other countries in the Gulf area to oppose big-power hegemonism and outside interference.

The Gulf area and the Indian Ocean are a major scene of rivalry between the two superpowers. The Soviet social-imperialists in particular, who claim themselves to be the "natural ally" of the people there, have long harbored sinister designs against the Gulf area. In recent years, they have left no stone unturned to set up military bases in a disguised form in a number of sea ports along the Gulf and Indian Ocean coasts. Their warships prowl the Indian Ocean and often cruise the Gulf area, posing a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of these coastal countries. Lately, when Iran was to buy weapons from foreign countries to strengthen its self-defense, this social-imperialist country which not infrequently swears that it hasn't threatened and will never threaten any Gulf country was so displeased with the Iranian move that it flagrantly brought pressure to bear upon Tehran. Any third world country which buys arms from foreign countries for self defense inevitably comes under Soviet attack and any country which does not buy hardware with political strings attached from the Soviet Union, the super-merchant of death, has, in the eyes of Moscow, committed a heinous crime!

The mounting Soviet threat has helped countries and peoples in the Gulf area through the hypocritical features of Soviet revisionism and its aggressive nature and the trend of united struggle in this area against the hegemonic powers is growing. In this united struggle Iran has taken a positive attitude. Since the beginning of this year, it has continuously strengthened and developed its relations with countries in South Asia and the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, it has also taken necessary measures to build

up its military strength for self-defense to cope with the threat and aggression from outside.

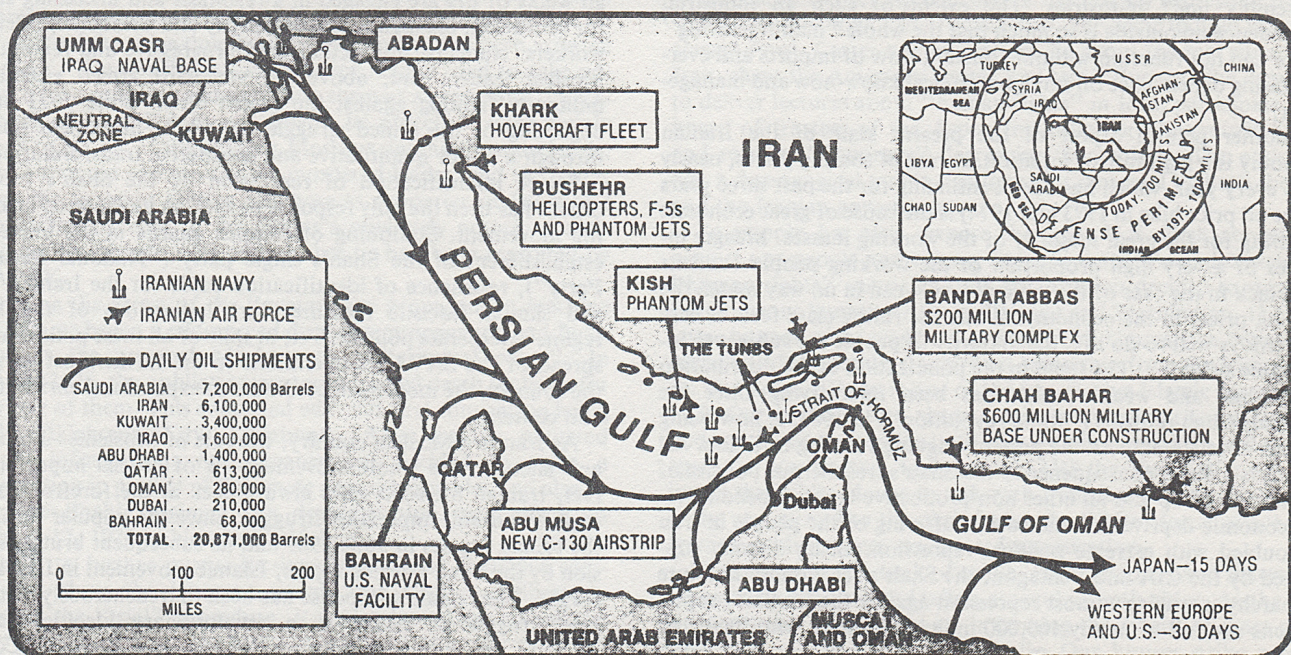
Soviet social-imperialist blackmail and intimidation can only incur the opposition and denunciation by the people of Iran and the other Gulf countries.

Peking Review Sep. 8, 1976

It is really funny to exaggerate the so-called Soviet social-imperialism to the extent of forgetting all about the U.S. imperialism and her dominant role in the Gulf region. Also to judge the role of Iran which the Shah himself explains as: "our responsibilities are not only national but we have the role as protectors and defenders of sixty percent of the oil reserves in the world," and "the western interests in the Gulf are part of the strategic interests and security of the Arab countries, America and Japan. As these countries cannot protect their interest we have to play this role. We will undertake the role with the help of others or without them," somewhat progressive and anti-imperialistic which is in a "united struggle" and "against the hegemonic powers." Is it not true that this "united struggle" is the unity of the reactionary regimes against the liberation movements in the region?

Earlier the article explained the aggressive role of Iran in distorting the revolutionary movements in the region. But what we see here is very much different, as about the arms build up, China believes that it is to bring "strength for self-defense to cope with the threat and aggression from outside." Why did the Chinese government ignore the fact when in 1973 the Shah invaded Oman, the "threat and aggression" they are talking about was from the side of the fascist Shah and Qaboos against the Omani revolutionaries who were fighting for their freedom from the colonialists and the imperialists and not vice-versa???

The Chinese perceptions of an "Independent and Nationalist" Shah, who is dependent, from toe to top on the U.S. imperialism, without which he can not survive a single day, are not true, and hence are against the basis of the revolutionary movement of the Iranian people. The reactionary regime of the Shah exploits these reactionary stands taken by China as the tools for its stabilization in the international scene. When we condemn the counter-revolutionary steps taken by the Soviet Union in the region, we at the same time, condemn the reactionary position that China has adopted in connection with the puppet regime of the Shah.



EXPOSE THE SHAH'S PUPPET DICTATORIAL REGIME

The existence of the Shah's reactionary puppet dictatorial regime and its anti-people and anti-revolutionary nature is the only cause of all socio-political-economic problems in Iran. Domination of this militaristic repressive regime, which is fully and directly backed by the U.S. imperialism, has turned Iran into the bedspread of one of the most severe social conflicts in the world today. The Shah's regime not only has the mission to suppress the Iranian people but other peoples in the whole Gulf region as well. This repressive regime is one of the strongest U.S. local puppets all over the world.

Economically, Iran today is being plundered by foreign powers, mainly by U.S. imperialism. Her rich and abundant natural resources are exploited by foreigners and transferred to other parts of the world—basically imperialist countries. Foreign firms operating in Iran exert a major control over the whole economy. Today, thousands of foreign enterprises are operating in Iran and are ripping off huge sums of benefits. In this "earthly paradise" of foreign capitalists and their indigenous collaborators (comprador bourgeoisie), millions of Iranian toiling masses suffer from lack of food, shelter, education, health, etc.

Severe scarcity, and in some cases, lack of basic food stuff such as meat, rice, eggs, wheat and housing is a daily fact in Iran. No need to mention that in such a hard situation the poor people (majority of Iranian people) suffer the most. While Iran is basically an agriculturally-based economy, yet, foodstuffs are imported in the order of several billions of dollars every year. There has been a trend of sharp increase in the food import bills over the past few years. The Iranian agriculture, being the largest economic sector employing at least 50% of the population, has been on the decline for a long time. Now, it is at the verge of total bankruptcy. Such an oncoming collapse has been solely caused by the treacherous and anti-people policies of the puppet Shah's regime. Expansion in the operations of agri-business enterprises—mostly American and Israeli and in some cases, native comprador bourgeoisie—has been encouraged and supported at the cost of the full neglect of the predominantly backward traditional sector.

Such is the case with the industrial and manufacturing sectors of the economy. The basic characteristic of the "productive" enterprises in Iran is their comprador nature. They are mainly "assembly line" industries. The extent of such an industrial dependence on outside is so much that the whole "manufacturing" sector can not function without constant flow of imports and ever-increasing dependence on foreign technical know-how and management.

Another painful aspect of the present state of the Iranian economy is a high rate of inflation. A rate of soaring prices, nearly 30% every year, which has been continuing for the past three years (since oil price hike in 1973 and 1974) is the cause of great economic suffering for the great majority of the working masses. Meagre incomes of a very high proportion of the working people—and its total lack in the case of the unemployed—can in no way match the soaring prices in the economy. While the ruling class feels at ease and enjoys well-to-do life, the majority of people are subject to intolerable suffering. The trend in the polarization of the distribution of income and wealth which has been intensifying since the Kennedy-Shah reforms ("white revolution") in 1963, is now being further accelerated with the present ongoing running inflation. All of this is a direct consequence to the Shah's treacherous policies of military build up and all other non-productive lavish expenditures.

Economic deprivation and social suffering of the people in Iran is doubled with extreme political repression. Being directly supported by the CIA and Pentagon, the Shah's reactionary absolute monarchy is waging utmost repression against the Iranian people. Prisons are full of nearly 100,000 militant Iranians who have had the courage to oppose the Shah's puppet, treacherous and hated

rule. These militant Iranians who have one way or another participated in the movement are subject to the most vicious and inhuman kinds of physical and psychological torture. Israeli and American head-torturers closely supervise the torture procession by their SAVAK trainee-collaborators and are directly in command of the whole secret police operations in Iran.

SAVAK, fully aided by the CIA and the Israeli MOSSAD, is the Shah's utterly brutal secret police apparatus which aims at suppressing all voices of opposition and all forms of dissent. Frequent arbitrary mass arrests and other kinds of persecution and harassment are daily facts in Iran now. Execution of political prisoners on completely false charges and murdering of the armed revolutionaries on the streets are among the SAVAK's routine practices. Imposition of absolute censorship on the means of mass media and literary publications and close control of all written material constitute another aspect of the SAVAK's suppressive functions.

Along with the expansion in the operations of SAVAK and the CIA, the Shah's regime is engaged in a massive drive for rapid and heavy military build up. Every year billions of dollars of the plundered oil money is channelled back into the Pentagon and weapons industries. In return, all kinds of deadly sophisticated weapons accompanied by thousands of American military advisors are sent to Iran to run the military apparatus and keep the puppet Shah on the throne. Such a military drive has two basic goals. One is to make the fascist Shah's regime capable enough to meet the internal revolutionary challenge and stay in power. And the other is to make his regime the U.S. local and regional watchdog in the Gulf region and the whole Middle East area. The Shah's dictatorial rule is armed to the teeth in order to preserve the status quo in the area, aid other local reactionary regimes (even in other parts of the globe), suppress revolutionary movements in the area (e.g., Dhofari revolution) and, in the final analysis, secure the U.S. imperialistic economic, political and military-strategic interests. Heavy military build up, presence of nearly 30,000 American military personnel, as well as the stationing of the CIA Mideast Headquarters in Tehran have all contributed to the severe intensification of repression.

While the Shah's dictatorial apparatus and the U.S. imperialism try their hardest to repress the Iranian people and pursue their ungodly and anti-human interests, the heroic struggle of our people aims at annihilating such a corrupt and oppressive system. Today, all walks of life are engaged in a relentless and unceasing struggle for liberation, independence, prosperity and democracy. Peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and progressive and revolutionary Moslem leaders and, above all, vanguard armed guerillas are militantly fighting against the fascist Shah. Since 1971 and the beginning of the armed struggle the whole movement has gone through a major quantitative and qualitative transformation.

Severe intensification of repression by the Shah's repressive organs has been the only response to such an unexpected upsurge in the movement. Stationing of campus guards in the universities, establishment of the Shah's single party ("National Resurgence Party"), reissuance of identification cards for the Iranian people and similar fascistic measures, are indications of the Iranian regime's desperate policies. Yet, in spite of all these policies and the spread of the SAVAK's operations to the farthest corners of the country, the movement continues to expand and enrich its form and content.

As Iran is a Moslem country, the role of Moslems—both clergy and laity in the whole movement—is of crucial importance. In fact, Iranian Moslems have always been at the forefront of anti-regime and anti-imperialist struggle. Since the popular uprising of the toiling masses in June 1963 and its subsequent brutal suppression by the Shah's armed forces, Islamic movement in Iran has upsurged. The regime's response has been to treacherously distort the just struggle of Islam—as a revolutionary ideology—and to discredit revolutionary Moslem leaders and fighters. Constant

persecution of Ayatollah* Khomeini—the highest Moslem leader—and his ultimate exile to Iraq in 1964 is only one example (He has been in exile ever since). During the past seven years many Moslem leaders and theologians have been arrested and tortured; Ayatollah Saeedi and Ayatollah Ghaffari have been tortured to death. At the present time, hundreds of revolutionary Moslem leaders and scholars are in prison and are subject to the worst kinds of torture.

Because of the people's deep belief in and sympathy for Islam and Moslems, the Shah's anti-Islamic regime tries hard to undermine such a strong moral attachment and commitment. Change of the Iranian calendar from Solar Hجري (based on the emigration of Mohammad from Mecca to Medina) to "Monarchical" calendar was an obviously anti-Islamic move which was of course faced with the Moslems' tough opposition. Ayatollah Khomeini issued an order from exile, denouncing the Shah's move and banned the people from using the new calendar. Another treacherous conspiracy of the Shah's anti-people and anti-Islamic regime has been its effort to discredit Moslem guerrilla fighters by calling them "Islamic-Marxists". This reactionary policy has been continuously pursued since 1971 during which the Organization of Iranian People's Mujahideen (Moslem Combatants) started its urban guerrilla warfare. Another age-old anti-Islamic policy of the Shah's regime has been to encourage and facilitate the spread of corrupt and perverted Western culture. The Iranian reactionary regime is well aware of the Moslem's huge potential and actual support of the revolutionary movement. This is why this oppressive regime, on the one hand, tries to deprive the masses from their revolutionary ideology, and on the other, deprive the Moslem fighters from the people's popular support. Yet, despite all the harassment, arrest, torture, execution, and secret annihilation of Moslem revolutionaries—both clergy and laity—Moslem leaders, scholars and thinkers have been striving their hardest to reach the masses and give them the true message of Islam and Qur'an. Schools of theology, mainly centered in Qum (a small religious city near Tehran), which have always been a target of SAVAK and army attacks, are now militantly engaged in the Islamic revolutionary struggle. At the present time, many Moslem scholars are in prison and most of their schools are closed down.

One of the most recent conspiracies of the Shah's regimes against the Islamic movement has been the sentencing to death of six Moslem Militants. More than a year ago, Ayatollah Shams-Abadi, was secretly murdered in Isfahan (a big city in the central part of Iran). Around the same time twenty-two persons had been arrested by SAVAK. The treacherous reactionary regime tried to take advantage of the situation and introduce them as a group and the real murderers of Ayatollah Shams-Abadi. Its objectives were mainly two: one to get rid of the militant Moslems among them under the guise of supposed revenge for the murdered leader, and the other, to cheat the ignorant masses and pose as supporter of Islam and Moslems. But because of the regime's obviously notorious anti-Islamic nature, people were certain that he had been martyred by the SAVAK.

Following the arrest of the "group" the propagandist machine of the Regime began a widespread distortive propaganda and finally brought the arrested Moslems to a "criminal court". In September 1976, the public prosecutor requested death sentence for twenty one of them. This coincided with our first convention being held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. After having gathered necessary information, our organization decided to stage a demonstration in protest of the whole demagogical plot and also to expose the Shah's regime. The demonstration took place on September 17, 1976 in Norman, Oklahoma.

In order to further pursue its demagogical and distortive campaign and cheat the ignorant people, the Regime deliberately lengthened the "trial" procedure. It is also interesting to call the

"group" as "religious terrorist", and thus, identify Islam and the Moslems' revolutionary struggle with what is so shamelessly and treacherously ascribed to this "group". In March 1977, the "criminal court" reached its final decision and sentenced six of the twenty two to death. Among the six, Seyed Mehdi Hashemi, is a known scholar of theology with a long background of anti-regime, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist activities. Because of his progressive activities, he had been arrested and jailed several times and once had been sent to military service. Following the "announcement" of the "court's" final verdict, our organization planned for another series of protest actions against this specific case and the regime's reactionary plots. Therefore, different chapters of the organization staged demonstrations in Chicago (Illinois), Birmingham (Alabama), Louisville (Kentucky) and Houston (Texas) in April 1977. In these protest actions, we demanded the dropping of the death charges against the six, release of Seyed Mehdi Hashemi and also release of Dr. Abbas Sheibani and Ayatollah Taleghani.

Dr. A. Sheibani is one of the prominent member-activist of both "National Resistance Movement" (established in 1953 after the CIA coup and "Iran's Liberation Movement" (established in 1961). He has been in and out of jail ever since 1953. His last arrest and jailing came because of his contact with martyred Mujahid, brother M. Bagher Abbasi. Though his prison term had been over for quite a long time, he was still detained and subjected to vicious torture. Because of mounting pressures on the Shah's regime, both from within and without, he has been recently released.

Ayatollah Mujahid Seyed Mahmood Taleghani, a well-known Moslem theologian and also one of the leaders of "Iran's Liberation Movement", has spent most of his life in the movement and in and out of the regime's jails (more than 2/3 of the period 1953-1977). His last arrest was last year when one night his house was raided by SAVAK agents, he was beaten up and finally taken to jail. To further pressure him, his militant daughter was also arrested and tortured. She has been "sentenced" to life imprisonment. Mujahid Taleghani is now under all kinds of physical and psychological torture.

Our last protest action against the Shah's dictatorial regime and its treacherous conspiracies against the Iranian people in general and Islam and Moslems in particular, coincided with the visit of the Shah's wife to the U.S. At a time that the U.S. imperialism is wholeheartedly backing the Shah's reactionary repressive regime, she came here on an "unofficial" trip. She came to hold talks with Gerald Ford, Carter administration, lie about the real situation in Iran, cheat the American people and buy influence. She came here to deliver lectures about "human rights" in Iran, participate in the board of trustees of the Aspen Institutes for Humanistic Studies and receive "Honorary" degree in "humanity". The entire trip was a demagogical public relations visit designed by both the U.S. and the Iranian government.

To oppose her visit, expose the joint U.S.-Shah conspiracies against our people and expose Carter's shameless and treacherous "human rights" campaign, our organization decided to stage two simultaneous hunger-strikes in Chicago and Washington, D.C. The latter hunger strike was held at Masjid Ul-Umma (the community mosque) which derives its spiritual leadership from the Islamic Party. The Islamic Party is one of the progressive Islamic forces in the U.S. Our brothers and sisters went on hunger-strike on July 7th and continued their strike until July 14th in a very high and militant spirit. In Washington, while on July 11th the Shah's wife was coming to the White House to talk with President Carter, the hunger-strike was moved to the park facing the White House where other Iranian students were staging a demonstration.

During the whole week of strike, other brothers and sisters were being busy distributing leaflets around in both cities. At the same time, another group kept on informing the means of mass media through leafletting and phone calls. Our hunger-strike received much coverage and publicity. Several radio stations kept on broad-

*Ayatollah is a title used for high Moslem leaders and theologians.

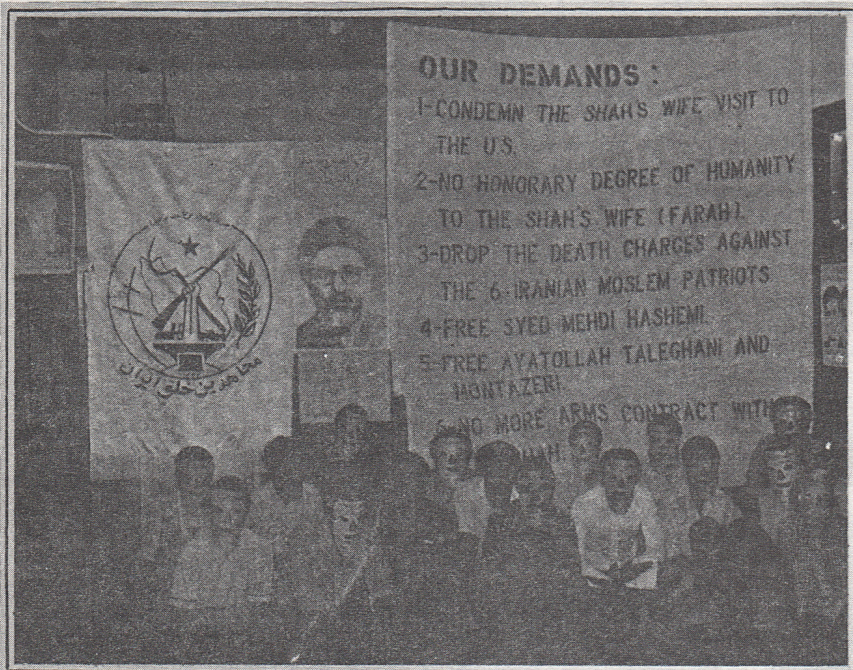
THE RISE

casting information concerning both hunger-strikes.

Their information included cite of strikes, number of participants, our reasons for staging them and our general and specific demands. We also had three interviews with three different radio stations and a T.V. interview with channel 5, broadcast on Sunday, 10th of July in Washington, D.C. Our hunger-strike in Chicago also received considerable coverage and publicity. In addition to radio broadcasts, channel 11 filmed it on the scene and interviewed one of our brothers. It was reported on T.V. for nearly five minutes on Thursday, July 15th on the last day of strikes.

In conclusion, least to say is that our hunger-strikes were successful protest actions. In spite of time constraint and similar technical difficulties, our organization managed to start, continue

and finish both hunger-strikes quite successfully. We tried our best to reach out to the public and inform them of the real situation in Iran, socio-economic plight of the vast majority of our people, the ongoing and ever-increasing repressiveness of the Shah's puppet reactionary regime and, the U.S. all-out and deeply-entrenched involvement in Iran. We also well exposed the demagogical visit of the Shah's wife to the U.S. Above all, we did our hardest to publicize the case of the six militant Moslems now facing impending death. We were also demanding dropping of death charge against the six, release of Seyed Mehdi Hashemi and two Moslem leaders; Ayatollah Taleghani and Ayatollah Montazeri, no honorary degree of humanity to the Shah's wife (Farah) and no more arms contract with the Shah. □



A scene from the hunger strike of O.I.M.S., held in Chicago from July 7 to July 15



Two scenes from the demonstration held by O.I.M.S. in Chicago (April, 1977)



Two scenes from the hunger strike of O.I.M.S. held at Masjid Ul-Umma (the Community Mosque) in Washington D.C.

THE RISE

DEFENSE PUBLICATION OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN MOSLEM STUDENTS

P.O. BOX 401 WILLMETTE ILL. 60091

SPECIAL ISSUE

OCTOBER 12, 1978

DEFEND LEXINGTON 11

Introduction

The Lexington Court's decision to "sentence" 11 anti-CIA protesters 8 — Iranian students and three American sympathizers - to maximum charges is not only a fascistic measure in its own right, but it is also indicative of a deep CIA conspiracy. The Court, is trying its best, under direct pressure from the CIA, to exert maximum pressure on this group. By adopting highly repressive, and in fact, unprecedented measures, the Court and the Judge Paul B. Gudgel are bent on sparing no efforts in imposing their reactionary decisions on the 11. The atmosphere of the Court and the personal behavior and statements of the Judge himself are highly indicative of the hidden intentions behind the "trial" and its outcome. The crux of the whole issue is the pressure the CIA is trying to bear on eleven educated politically-

conscious persons whose only "Crime" is exposing this notorious organization and its activities, at least as regards Iran and the Iranian people.

Background To The Case:

A brief look into the case since the very beginning is illuminating. The case goes back to late April this year when Admiral Turner, the present CIA director, came to Lexington to deliver a speech at the University of Kentucky. As part of our defense-exposing activities, and in response to our commitment to the Iranian people, our organization decided to expose the CIA's treacherous involvement in Iran and its direct role in the on-going repression against our people. Before Turner's speech started, our brothers and sisters distributed a



A scene from the O.I.M.S. hunger strike in front of Lexington Courthouse, Friday, October 6.

pamphlet exposing the CIA's role in Iran and stood in back of the hall, holding up signs and posters.

The University's Dean, Burch, who wanted to have a quiet session for Turner, was obviously embarrassed at the sight of the Iranian students and their signs. He tried to stop our participation in the session under the pretext that our act was considered "demonstration and cause of disturbance". He threatened that unless we had left before speech started, he would call on the police to arrest our brothers and sisters. In the course of the Dean's unjustified and reactionary threats, several Americans raised their voices in our support and condemned his decision.

When his threats failed to force us out of the hall, he shamelessly called on the police. As a result, three of our brothers were arrested. Following these arrests, police arrested 3 Americans who supported our righteous cause and objected to this fascistic measure. Many Americans in the audience showed their support for the arrested by clapping and cheering.

After over half an hour delay, Turner started speaking. Several other Iranian students were arrested during his speech - for interrupting him. Later entry of many National Guardsmen and their stay for the rest of the session, in addition to the police heavy and tight guard around the building, clearly showed the repressive nature of the CIA and the University administration. This session which was supposed to whitewash the CIA of its crimes and gain support for it among Americans was thus exposed, especially by the Dean's resort to the police and their reactionary harsh treatment of Iranian students and their American sympathizers.

Local press and two TV channels covered this speech with all its concurrent ugly events which further exposed the CIA and the university's open cooperation with it. In spite of some reactionary attacks directed against the protesters in the campus newspaper, many articles and letters were later printed in our support. The arrested 11 anti-CIA protesters were later bailed out on bonds. Following the arrests, Immigration officers from Louisville, Kentucky came to Lexington to bear further pressure on the arrested Iranian students. On May 3rd, we held a demonstration in downtown Lexington to expose and condemn the CIA plot as well as the undue interference of the Immigration Office-playing its familiar and age-old part of harrassment.

Lexington Court's "trial" of the 11

The arrested 11 were then released temporarily to face "trial" in late September. The Lexington Court, during three days of Sept. 26-28, "tried" and "sentenced" this group to maximum charges. All the 11 were "sentenced" to pay \$250 fine, 5 to 90 days of imprisonment, 2 to 60 days and another 3 to 45 days. This fascistic decision clearly shows the CIA's conspiracy, to be implemented by the Court, to bear extreme pressure on progressive militant Iranians.

The depth of the CIA's plot is more revealed by the fact that the Prosecutor has told the defendants' attorney that if they plead guilty, they would only have to pay \$10 in cash and the Court's expenses. As the defendants do not consider

themselves guilty, the Court, under pressure from the CIA, decided to "sentence" them to maximum charges.

In this "trial", the Court tried to accuse them of causing disturbance in the hall. The defendants argued that, on the contrary, the case is one of police interference and rough handling of the arrested. The Court also tried to consider holding up of signs as an act of "demonstration", while the defendants argued that holding up signs in protest does not by any means mean demonstration.

Following this "trial", defendants appealed to a higher court to defend their innocence at the face of such repressive measures. The hearing before the court of appeal, clearly manifested the depth of the plot against the 11. Judge Gudgel enters the courtroom with two bodyguards! He then dismisses everybody from the courtroom except for the press people. Lexington Herald reported that he attended the Court in bullet-proof vest and declined commenting on why he wore this vest, when asked by this newspaper's correspondent!

This fascistic behaviour in the courtroom by Judge Gudgel and his statements later make it crystal clear for everybody that he is bent on imposing highly repressive measures on the defendants. While it is legally possible that the defendants's charges be dropped in the hearing, the Judge instead raises the bond from \$4,000 to \$15,000 per defendant. His reasoning being that Iranians are rich and can pay the bail! He has also added that he would not heed so many cables sent to him by different people and would disregard thousands of signatures of the people in support of the defendants. Moreover, while



Shah's troops use tear gas against Moslem demonstrators in Tehran.

before the hearings defendants could pay 10% of the bond to bail out, he raises this ratio to 100%; i.e., every defendant must pay 15,000 dollars to leave prison.

These extremely reactionary measures by the Judge only indicate his determination, in the most dictatorial and repressive manner, to bear intolerable pressure on 11 educated progressive people. He is trying to impose maximum charge on these people because they have raised signs in a speech session and exposed the CIA. He is doing his best to put pressure on the 11, especially the Iranian students. What else does he need to do to prove that he is directly cooperating with the CIA, the U.S. government and the Shah's reactionary puppet regime?

The Court, CIA and the Shah's Regime

The Lexington Court's reactionary fascistic measures against the 11, specially 8 Iranian students, are obviously serving the interests of the U.S. government and the Shah's regime. In the courtroom, pictures have been taken from Iranian students with their signs. These pictures have been filed together with pictures taken at demonstrations. What other use can these files have but submission to the Shah's notorious secret police-SAVAK? Lexington Court is now acting as a local agency of the CIA and the U.S. imperialism, it is implementing the policies of the CIA. The U.S. establishment has always been trying, through its main intelligence agency-CIA-to harass and pressure the Iranian student movement. In complete coordination with such an age-old reactionary policy, Immigration Office has been pursuing a consistent policy of harassment and, in some cases, deportation of progressive militant Iranian students.

The CIA has since long been involved in the Iranian affairs. It was the CIA which overthrew the nationalist popular government of Dr. Mossadegh and brought the fugitive Shah back to throne in 1953. And it has been this same notorious agency, assisted by the U.S. direct military support, which has since kept the puppet Shah in power at the cost of massive bloodshed and systematic repression. The extent of the CIA's involvement in our internal affairs has much intensified in the past several years, and is now more critical to the Shah's embattled shaky regime more than ever before. And that is why it is now employing all means to exert pressure on our student movement in the U.S.

It is a fact that the CIA has close links with the University of Lexington, particularly through the Patterson School of Diplomacy. This department's Dean is said to be closely associated with Admiral Turner. The University Dean's threats and final resort to the police, then, is no surprise. Should there exist any other evidence to prove the direct cooperation between the university administration and the CIA, and the Court's unjust reactionary measures?

But why such unprecedented repressive measures at this juncture of time? The recent upsurge in the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian Moslem people against the Shah's U.S.-backed regime and consequent deep embarrassment of the U.S. imperialism can well explain this new CIA assault.

The Islamic Movement in Iran and the U.S. Imperialism

The Islamic movement of the Iranian Moslem people has upsurged recently and pressured the Shah's shaky repressive regime. The Iranian Moslem people are militantly fighting to overthrow this puppet dictatorial monarchical regime and establish their own revolutionary Islamic popular government. The U.S. imperialism which wholeheartedly supports the Shah's regime to preserve the status quo and secure its huge economic, political and military interests in Iran and the Persian Gulf area, is deeply concerned and embarrassed by the rise of this revolutionary struggle. Jimmy Carter's personal telephone call to the Shah on Sunday, Sept. 10th-two days after he had massacred over 5,000 innocent people on the streets of Tehran-to express the U.S. solid support for his bloody regime, well symbolizes such a deep fear.

As part of the extensive campaign by the U.S. government to boost support for the Shah among Americans and, in fact, to justify its treacherous involvement in Iran, the U.S. mass media are trying to portray the Shah as "progressive and modernizer" and the Islamic movement and Moslems as "backward and anti-modernization". While Moslems in Iran are fighting for the establishment of a just and democratic government, committed to the independence and freedom of Iran and restoration of human rights to the people-men and women equally - the U.S. mass media depict them as "anti-women and feudalistic"!!

The treacherous intentions behind such vicious distortive propaganda against the Islamic movement in Iran are crystal clear. The U.S. establishment is dead afraid of this unique revolutionary movement which aims at creating a truly independent popular government in Iran. A cursory look through the U.S. press and news media manifestly shows such a fear and reflects the U.S. imperialism's reactionary determination to stand by the Shah's bloody regime. And in fact, they are doing all at their disposal to keep the Shah in power and secure their immense interests. The U.S. well-placed sources even indicate the possibility of the U.S. direct military involvement in Iran to save the Shah's throne, should the urgent need arise. Stationing of the CIA Middle Eastern headquarters in the capital city (Tehran), since 1973, and presence of 40,000 to 60,000 American military advisors, mainly Vietnam war veterans, in Iran, which are already directly involved in the Shah's repression in Iran are potential occupation forces and military involvement.

The 11: political prisoners, not criminals

The case of the 11 is a political case. They have been "tried" and "sentenced" merely because of their peaceful protest against the CIA and its involvement in Iran. Thus,



Moslem demonstrators carrying coffin of a martyr during one of the recent demonstrations in Tehran.

they are political prisoners whose human rights are severely violated. The University administration, the Lexington Court and the Immigration Office are as well directly cooperating with the CIA to exert pressure on the Iranian students.

They are all engaged in a dirty conspiracy against the Iranian student movement; the objective is to liquidate it. The case of the 11 is not a single separate case, it only reflects the consistent policy of the CIA and its local agencies and law enforcement offices to harrass our student movement. The case of the 11 is handled in such a way as to intimidate any opposition anywhere in the future.

The CIA's plot at liquidating student movements in the U.S. is not without precedent. This is the same age-old notorious policy against the anti-war activists in the 1960's. These same repressive measures were then employed against those who dared to oppose the U.S. unjustifiable reactionary aggression in Vietnam. Now it is well clear to everybody that those harrassed and imprisoned progressive elements were quite right in their opposition to the U.S. policy in Vietnam and the CIA's dirty tricks against the oppressed Vietnamese people.

The Lexington 11 are fighting for a just cause; they are trying to prove their innocence at the face of a well-planned - organized conspiracy. The defendants are now on a hunger-strike in the prison. They need everybody's support of any kind. Raise your voices in support of the Lexington 11 and against this CIA-directed conspiracy.

DEMANDS:

- DROP THE \$130,000 BAIL!
- RELEASE THE 10!
- DROP THE JAIL TERMS AND FINES!
- NO DEPORTATIONS OF IRANIAN STUDENTS!

SEND PROTEST LETTERS, TELEGRAMS AND CALLS:

- JUDGE GUDGEL
DISTRICT JUDGES' OFFICES
LIMESTONE BLDG.
LEXINGTON, KY. 40507
(606) 255-8781
- GOVERNOR JULIAN CARROLL
STATE CAPITOL BLDG.
FRANKFORT, KY. 40601
(502) 564-2611
- OTIS SINGLETARY
ADMINISTRATION BLDG.
UNIV. OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON, KY. 40506
(606) 257-1701

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO: LEXINGTON-11
FIRST SECURITY NATIONAL BANK & TRUST CO.
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LEXINGTON, KY. 40507

THE RISE

DEFENSE PUBLICATION OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN MOSLEM STUDENTS

P.O. BOX 401 WILLMETE ILL. 60091

Vol. 1

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No. 2

MILITARY RULE IN IRAN

Introduction

Massacre of around 5,000 innocent men, women and children on Sept. 8th, by the Shah's regime - following two massive nationwide general strikes and mass demonstrations organized and led by Moslems - did not manage to cripple the Islamic movement.* Instead, it further infuriated the people against the regime and highly radicalized the political situation in Iran. Militant popular demonstrations by Moslems continued notwithstanding the state of martial law - officially declared in 12 cities for six months - and forced the "national reconciliation government" of Jafar Sharif-Emami to unmask its truly reactionary nature. Relentless militant struggle of Moslems and the regime's brutal killings encouraged workers,

students, teachers and civil servants to actively participate in the movement. Such a huge influx of fresh political forces, calling for "Independence, Freedom, Islamic Government", much strengthened the Islamic movement and further pressured the Shah's already shaken regime. It faced the regime with a deep crisis and caused the U.S. government major concern over the fate of the Shah and monarchy in Iran.

Failure of the Shah's regime in gaining control and containing the Islamic movement, let alone suppressing it, raised the question of the alternatives left to the Shah and the U.S. It was widely believed, being our conviction too, that the last resort of the U.S. and the regime would be to install a military government and open massive use of naked force. Rapid spread of the movement all across Iran, more than ever before, clearly put the Shah's desperate regime in an inescapable corner. The regime's decision, and of course the U.S. option, to bring in a military cabinet came out of such a political desperation.

Military Government

On Monday, Nov. 6, 1978, the Shah of Iran declared martial law across Iran, imposed dusk-to-dawn (9:00 p.m. - 5:00 a.m.) curfew, and appointed a military Prime Minister. 12 Iranian cities already had been under martial law since Friday, Sept. 8th.

The Shah's late decision came after a week of widespread demonstrations across Iran, militant student demonstrations in Tehran in particular. Installment of a military government in Iran, first in 25 years since the overthrow of the popular government of Dr. Mossadegh through a C.I.A. directed coup, followed 2 days of militant demonstrations and massive burnings in the capital and several other cities.

The Shah resorted to military rule at the peak of his political desperation, when demonstrators in the streets of Tehran were burning his picture and shouting "Death to the



Demonstrators in Tehran burn the Shah's portrait in the streets

**O.I.M.S. has received a 50-minute documentary film about Sept. 4th and 7th mass demonstrations and Sept. 8th massacre. This film which had been shot on the scene and later smuggled out of the country, is being currently shown in different cities in the U.S., Canada and Europe.*

Shah" and "Hang the American dog". Imposition of military government on the nation obviously ran contrary to the Shah's "Promises" of "national government" and "free election". But the resolve to stay on the Peacock Throne easily triumphed over "kingly pretensions of honor and pride"!

The Shah appeared on national T.V. to announce - with a conciliatory voice - installment of military rule. He openly confessed to his past "errors and mistakes", promising "that they would not be repeated again". The haughty dictator who had always called demonstrators "a small gang of foreign tools", now was desperate enough to say: "...your revolutionary message had been heard. I am aware of everything you have given your lives for".

While the military government was preparing itself to take over and threatened the "violators" of martial law with very harsh "treatment", the Shah was promising "democracy and free elections"! As he spoke, tanks and armored cars had taken up positions at many points in the center of Tehran. "Truckloads of troops crisscrossed the city regularly" (Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 7, 1978).

Events Leading to Military Rule

On Saturday, Nov. 4th, troops opened fire into tens of thousands of demonstrating students on the campus of Tehran University. UPI reported that troops began firing on the students as they tried to demolish the Shah's statue at the entrance of the fenced campus. Reports from Iran indicate that at least 65 students were shot dead, many more injured.

Following the shooting, students filed out of the campus and ran through the streets for several hours. They burned pictures of the Shah and his "royal" family on the streets, set fire to government and foreign-related property, damaged banks, theaters, liquor stores and similar centers.

This new outburst of popular protests against the regime was so widespread and serious that the Shah's fate seemed clearly uncertain. And the Shah's resort to military rule vindicated his extremely precarious position. It then became obvious to the regime itself that any further remaining in power solely depended upon military might. All the Shah's tactics had failed to fool the Islamic movement and "quiet" the people, no compromise solution was in sight and, more importantly, demonstrations were spreading rapidly.

Sunday, Nov. 5th, witnessed the climax of street demonstrations. In retaliation for the Saturday killings, students took to the streets and were joined by people of other walks of life. Many government buildings, banks, theaters, liquor stores and foreign-related enterprises were either smashed or set ablaze. The main building of the British Embassy was completely burned down. The regime which had anticipated attack on the U.S. Embassy, hurriedly deployed troops and tanks to the area. Demonstrators were forcibly dispersed before they could reach the place.

Tehran was in the hand of demonstrators for the whole day. Black columns of smoke were rising from every part of the city. At the end of the day Tehran was described as a "war-ravaged" town.

While shouting slogans in support of Ayatollah Khomeini and for the establishment of an Islamic government, demonstrators shouted "hang the American Shah", and burned his portraits.

When demonstrations flared up in Tehran and other cities, the regime was busy trying to work out a compromise solution ("constitutional coalition government") with some reformist groups such as "National Front". Karim Sanjabi, head of "National Front", had gone to Paris to discuss the situation with Ayatollah Khomeini. Ayatollah Khomeini clearly stated that any individual or group which enters into negotiation with the Shah (and the present regime) is considered a traitor and would be expelled from the movement. This revolutionary position effectively dissuaded "National Front" from any negotiation and totally undermined the Shah's hopes for a compromise solution at this time. It temporarily drove the reformism out of the political scene. In the meantime, militant demonstrations and bloody clashes across Iran, in Tehran in particular, much radicalized the situation and contributed to the Regime's shakiness and instability.

While the protests continued in the streets, the government faced internal crisis. In protest against the shootings on the campus, the Minister of Education and the Minister for the Universities, resigned on Sunday, Nov. 5th. Later in the day, Jaafar Sharif-emami, Prime Minister, submitted his resignation to the Shah. At this point the "national reconciliation government" which had been formed by the Shah in late August as a demagogical manoeuvre to cheat the people, entice the moderates into compromise and isolate the revolutionary Islamic leadership, collapsed. Ayatollah Khomeini's timely statement in exposing the regime's deceitful move as well as the reactionary nature of Sharif Emami's government had made it clear that his cabinet was doomed to failure.

It was very clear from the outset that Sharif-Emami's government was not but another desperate move by the Shah. And when finally it became obvious to the U.S. administration, the Shah and Sharif-Emami himself, that the civilian cabinet could no longer remain in office, he resigned. Continued massive militant demonstrations by Moslems all over Iran and widespread strikes and walk-outs by workers, teachers and civil servants - all under the Islamic banner - on the one hand, and brutal suppression of demonstrations and frequent killings by the regime, on the other, had made it impossible for the government to gain control. The only option left to the regime was open resort to military rule and sole reliance on brute force.

Since September 8th's bloody massacre, the Shah had tried, though unsuccessfully, to use the "carrot and stick" policy. While killings in different parts of the country - including the 12 cities already under martial law - were intensively used in order to paralyze the Islamic movement and push the Moslem masses back, the regime made all kinds of hollow and meaningless "concessions". Release of 1260 political prisoners and arrest of some high officials on charges of "corruption", and similar measures, contrary to the regime's expectation did not change anything. Instead, they caused much stronger furor among the people and brought more walks of life into the main stream of the revolutionary struggle. Continued flare-up of Moslems' nationwide opposition to the regime gave specific political dimensions to the strikes of civil servants, teachers and workers. Such strikes in both the services sectors and industrial factories much contributed to the economic paralysis of the regime.

The strike of more than 37,000 oilfield workers in Abadan refinery was a very crucial blow against the regime. As a result, oil production fell from over 6 million to nearly 1 million barrels a day; cutting down on the regime's revenue

by about \$60 million per day. In spite of the regime's hasty and panicked promise to give workers considerable wage boost, they insisted on their political demands and refused to go back to work.

U.S. Endorsement of the Military Government

The rising Islamic movement in Iran has deeply worried the U.S. imperialism. Rapid spread and increasing strength of the Iranian Moslem people's revolutionary struggle not only has effectively shaken the Shah's repressive U.S. -backed regime, but has as well endangered the U.S. huge economic, political and strategic interests in Iran and the whole Middle East area. The grim prospect of the Shah's overthrow has forced the U.S. government and its chief spokesman Jimmy Carter - "champion" of "human rights" - to throw away their mask and openly subscribe to repression and bloodshed in Iran.

The U.S. government has hurled its all-out support behind the Shah. Since early January this year when the new wave of the Moslems' popular struggle started, the U.S. administration and its high officials, past and present equally, have frequently stated their full support for the embittered Shah. Two days after the Shah's brutal army massacred around 5,000 people in Tehran, the capital, Jimmy Carter personally phoned the Shah to "reaffirm the U.S. commitment to the embattled monarch". Simultaneously, he authorized the export of 20,000 cannisters of tear gas to Iran (Newsweek, Sept. 25, 1978).

As the situation became more radicalized and the Shah's position was further shaken, the U.S. backing of the Shah was intensified. Jimmy Carter met with the Shah's 18-year-old son, Reza, in Washington on October 31, and told him "to convey his support for, and warm personal feelings to, the Shah". While praising the Shah's "progressive administration", Carter added that "we are thankful for his move toward democracy." He called U.S. ties with Iran "one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends". (U.S. News and the World Report, Nov. 13, 1978). It is such an importance that underlies the U.S. deep involvement in Iran and the drive to keep the Shah's bloody regime in power.

When massive popular demonstrations by Moslems swept the country in late October and wildcat strikes, walk-outs and work slowdowns in various sectors gripped the whole economy, the regime faced the deepest political crisis and the U.S. felt the imminent danger to the survival of the regime.

On Nov. 3rd, in the midst of huge demonstrations all across Iran and growing student demonstrations in Tehran, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor, called the Shah on his behalf and told him "Do whatever you feel you must to restore authority and stability ... whatever that is, we are 100% behind you". Two days later, the Shah installed military government headed by the chief of the armed forces, Gen. Gholam-Reza Azhari.

The Shah's resort to military rule received full U.S. endorsement. "We support the Shah in his decision," said State Department's spokesman, Jill Schuker. She added: "The Shah moved to appoint a military government under his authority when it became apparent that another civilian government could not be formed to restore the public order

essential to moving towards elections."

Interestingly enough, while the U.S. fully endorsed military rule, it wished the Shah the best for his continued policy of "political liberalization"! It goes without saying that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and the Shah's "political liberalization" only mean more systematic repression and open bloodshed. Simply because if the U.S. wants the Shah to go ahead with his "move towards democracy", then in the first place, he should remain in power. And that is solely possible through "restoration of law and order", which, frankly put, means brutal suppression of the Moslems' nationwide militant struggle. Extension of martial law from 12 cities to the whole nation and deployment of heavy tanks, armored vehicles and large contingents of troops to the streets all over Iran indicated the regime's resolve to the massive use of military might.

Apart from strong statements of support for the Shah, the U.S. government has sent large amounts of riot-control gear, shields, police clubs and tear gas, to the regime. They have even discussed dispatch of "U.S. army personnel to Iran to train the Shah's military forces in riot-control tactics" (UPI, Nov. 7, 1978).

Conclusion

Imposition of military rule was clearly the last resort of the U.S. imperialism and its puppet, the Shah. His shaky position had become so untenable that, according to ABC's commentary on Nov. 2, "Iran would face either civil war or revolution within weeks". All the Shah's tactics of granting "concessions" to the people and Moslem opposition had obviously failed. In addition, his extreme brutality and widespread bloodshed had proved ineffective in the face of the resolute determination of a Moslem people who are fighting for "Independence, Freedom, Islamic government".

The U.S. open and strong endorsement of the new military administration in Iran clearly indicates that the U.S. imperialism is ready to commit any crimes in order to secure its interests in Iran. U.S. backing of the Shah's bloody regime over the past 25 years has meant 25 years of iron-fisted dictatorship, mass poverty, backwardness, foreign domination, economic dependence and cultural decadence.

Now that the Iranian Moslem people have risen to overthrow the present corrupt monarchical regime and establish a just Islamic system, the U.S. imperialism is deeply embarrassed. The U.S. top officials have even hinted the possibility of direct military intervention in Iran to keep the regime in power and preserve the status quo. Sending U.S. troops to Iran to shed blood and help maintain the present system, hopeless an effort as it is, only points to the reactionary nature of the U.S. establishment and government. They want to create another Vietnam in the vain hope of saving their own interests.

Military rule was called in to put the regime's house in order; to force strikers to return to work, brutally suppress Moslem popular demonstrations, and "restore law and order". But contrary to the expectations of the U.S. imperialism and the Shah's regime, the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian Moslem people will continue until final victory. The Shah's anti-people and anti-Islamic regime is doomed to final demise.

□

LEXINGTON 11

A Clear Victory For The Iranian Students

On Monday, Oct. 16, 1978, 9 anti-CIA protestors - 8 Iranians and an American professor - in an unpredictable event, were bailed out of Lexington maximum security jail - ending their 11-day militant hunger strike. (They had gone on hunger-strike as soon as they had been taken to the city jail following the hearing on Friday, Oct. 6th.)

The 11 and a juvenile (released earlier) were arrested during Admiral Turner's appearance at University of Kentucky in a calculated move to whitewash the CIA of its crimes. The arrests were made under a repressive order by Dean Burch, much embarrassed by exposing activities of the Iranian students. (For detailed background to the case see THE RISE Special Issue Oct. 12, 1978).

The release of the 11 came late in the afternoon when an American couple, Mr. and Mrs. John T. Smiley, in a surprising move, paid \$125,000 bond under which the group was imprisoned.

It was during the court of appeals hearing that Judge Gudgel not only upheld the very repressive verdict passed by the jury earlier, but as well raised the cash bond for 8 Iranian students from \$4,000 to \$15,000 each. In a move obviously intended to further pressure the 8 Iranians, he stipulated that each defendant should pay the cash bond in full to bail out. The cash bond for the two Americans who had also received maximum charges was raised from \$4,000 to \$5,000. Judge Gudgel's behavior in the courtroom and his statements during the hearing clearly bore witness to the fact that he was trying his best to distort the nature of the case and "offense" of the defendants. Treating the defendants, 8 Iranians in particular, as "terrorists" with a "serious and dangerous crime", betrayed Gudgel's hidden and premeditated reactionary intentions.

The hearing ordeal and its consequent harsh verdict was not the last episode of harassment for the group. Inside the jail, too, they faced hard conditions. Prison authorities had their own share of restrictive measures designed to bear pressure on the 9. Such restrictions ranged from the "privilege" of the number of books they could have to warm clothing.

But, thanks to the extensive exposing activities of the "Defense Committee", prison authorities were forced to give in and allow prisoners to use their righteous privileges. The least to say is that the group were treated more like political prisoners than common prisoners.

On the 5th day of the hunger-strike words spread that prison authorities had threatened to subject the group to "forced-feeding", unless they break the strike voluntarily. The intentions behind the threat was crystal clear. They had decided to put an end to the whole case. It was receiving wide coverage in the press; pressure was being brought on the court and Judge Gudgel had left town on "vacation". Apparently he had left town to be out of reach so that no solution could be worked out.

On Thursday night, one of the Iranians got seriously ill. While the defendants' attorneys went to the prison authorities to have a private doctor examine him, the "Defense Committee" started an impromptu vigil in front of the jail.

Prison authorities did not allow the doctor and the 3 attorneys to see the patient.

Although prison authorities had neglected his illness for quite a while, they had felt the danger in sticking to their repressive intentions after the vigil had started. It was only then that they called a doctor and a nurse to examine him. He was taken to the hospital later in the night.

The vigil which had started with about 200 people at about 10:00 p.m. continued until 4:00 p.m. the next day. By this time the patient was reported to be in satisfactory condition and taken back to jail. The group continued their resistance and did not give in to the prison pressure.

On Oct. 16, late in the afternoon, the prisoners were informed that they must break their 11-day hunger strike, the prisoners argued, that they will not do so, until they have met with their attorneys. Half an hour later in a shocking state, they were informed that they were free to leave the jail. Unaware of the events outside the jail, they were finally released.

They were told that somebody had paid the cash bond and released them; unbelievable but true. An American couple retired residents of Kentucky, Mr. and Mrs. John T. Smiley, had paid the bail to free the 9. His name soon appeared in the local news media as a generous progressive person who could not tolerate the injustice done to the group. In his own words, sentences meted out for these anti-CIA protestors, regardless of their "crime", had not been just.

His unprecedented move came as a surprise to everybody. In addition to the great humanitarian implications of such a sacrificing decision, it had its own important political repercussions.

Such a move by an American clearly showed that our just struggle against the CIA and its official and unofficial affiliates had the public's support. He proved that, contrary to what some people would tend to believe, American people are not even apathetic, let alone antagonistic, to our activities.

The most important aspect of Mr. Smiley's progressive and humanitarian act was a strong rebuff to the Judge Gudgel and the U.K. administration. While they were bent on keeping the 8 Iranians in prison, he bailed them out. They were certain that the defendants and their supporters outside could not afford paying the high cash bond. Mr. Smiley's interviews later further exposed Judge Gudgel and his reactionary decision.

Anyway, the 9 prisoners were released in this unprecedented manner after 11 days of pressure and suffering. They stood firm by their conviction that they had been right in their protest against the CIA as well as in their hunger-strike against Gudgel's repressive sentences.

They were released from jail only to file application for the court of appeals. However, it is quite understood that the defendants do not expect justice from the establishment, as they have experienced it all through the case. They are convinced of their innocence and their determination to take the case to the court as far as possible, is another aspect of their exposing activities. □